BALWADIS IN RURAL AREAS

TARABAI MODAK

PUBLISHED BY
DIRECTORATE OF EXTENSION & TRAINING
MINISTRY OF FOOD & AGRICULTURE, NEW DELHI
1958

First Edition 1958

© Copyright 1958
by
Directorate of Extension and Training
Ministry of Food & Agriculture
All Rights Reserved

PRINTED BY S. N. GUHA RAY
AT SREE SARASWATY PRESS LIMITED, CALCUTTA

FOREWORD

In the Extension programme, the importance of the village home can hardly be overestimated. It is, therefore, a matter for gratification to see that more and more attention is being paid to the subject of Home Science. For this purpose, the Directorate of Extension and Training, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, has helped in the establishment of a number of Home Science Wings throughout the country for the training of *Gram Sevikas*.

In the work of *Gram Sevikas*, the care, management and education of village children of tender age is certain to occupy a prominent place. For, the importance of childhood training is very great and if the citizens of the Indian Republic of tomorrow are to be educated for freedom, intelligence and voluntary co-operation, it is clear that the foundations must be laid in the nursery and pre-primary schools which must one day cover our countryside.

Perhaps the most helpful experiment in the sphere of child education in the rural areas is that embodied in the institution called the "Balwadi", which is an integration of all the liberal thinking in the field of child education and psychology as adapted to Indian conditions.

The Directorate of Extension and Training, therefore, deserves to be congratulated for publishing this small textbook on this subject, which, I am sure, would not only serve as a handy guide for the *Gram Sevikas*, but will be of interest and value to the wider circle of social workers, educationists and general readers.

New Delhi,
January, 1958

M. V. KRISHNAPPA
Deputy Minister for Agriculture,
Ministry of Food and Agriculture
Government of India

PREFACE

The supreme importance and efficacy of childhood training has been appreciated by professional educationists and others for centuries. 'The hand that rocks the cradle, rules the world', is a well-known proverb and the Jesuits used to boast that if they were given the child at a sufficiently early age, they could answer for the man. The researches of the modern psychologists, particularly Dr Freud and his followers, have also dramatically shown to how great an extent men's physical and spiritual ills are due to their experiences during early childhood.

The truth is that the conditioning process which takes place during early childhood largely predetermines the behaviour of the man. This conditioning may be in a desirable direction; it may equally well be in an undesirable direction.

In any programme of rural development, such as that envisaged under the Community Development and the National Extension Service Programme, the need for securing proper training for the young children of the rural areas can, therefore, hardly be overestimated. For if the citizens of the Indian Republic of tomorrow are to be educated for freedom, intelligence, and voluntary co-operation, it is clear that the foundations must be laid in the nursery and pre-primary schools which must one day cover our countryside.

Of all the experiments dealing with the education of the rural children, which have been tried out in post-independent India, perhaps the most hopeful is that embodied in the institution called the "Balwadi".

A Balwadi is an integration of the various liberal philosophies of education. It embodies the provision to the child of Tagore's "independence of discretion" and "study under the care of Nature". Like the *Casa Bambini* of Dr. Montessori, it uses "auto-suggestion" and it also tries to give

a practical reality in the life of the young children to the Gandhian idea of "Basic Education", in which the village crafts have an important and decisive role. The Balwadi, in fact, seems to be an answer to the special needs of rural India.

It was, therefore, decided to publish a small textbook on this subject which would serve as a handy guide for the *Gram Sevikas,* being trained under the Home Science Programme sponsored by the Directorate of Extension and Training, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, who would have to devote their attention to the care and management of children in the villages during the course of their duties. Mrs. Tarabai Modak, formerly Principal of the Barton Female Training College at Rajkot, the author of this book, was General Secretary of the Nutan Bal Shikshan Sangh until 1952, when she retired from active work owing to ill health. She is thus specially qualified for dealing with the subject and seems to have done full justice to it. Mr. D.M. Anand, M.A. (Oxon), Deputy Director of Information, Directorate of Extension and Training, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, has ably edited this book and re-written portions of it to enhance its usefulness.

I am sure that this small textbook, written in simple language and containing a number of useful ideas and suggestions, will be of great benefit not only to the *Gram Sevikas* for whom it is primarily intended, but also to the wider circle of social workers and educationists, who are dealing with the far-reaching problems of the organisation and development of pre-primary schools in the rural areas of India.

New Delhi,
January, 1958

M. S. RANDHAWA, D. SC., I.C.S.
Additional Secretary,
Ministry of Food and Agriculture
Government of India

CONTENTS

Chapters		*Page*
1. Introduction	..	1
2. Organising a Balwadi	..	5
3. Essential Features of a Balwadi Building	..	10
4. Activities of a Balwadi	..	12
5. Training of Muscular Movements	..	23
6. Introduction to Fine Arts	..	33
7. Acquaintance with and Understanding the World	..	38
8. Learning Language and Numbers	..	42
9. Social Activities in a Balwadi	..	51
10. The Time Table	..	54
11. Child Observation	..	58
12. The Expenditure	..	61

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education in the pre-primary stage is very important because it is the formative period of human life. All the foundations, good or bad, are laid in this period. The child, at this age, is most sensitive and quick to receive and absorb impressions that are lasting. It is the period when good or bad habits are developed, behaviour-patterns are acquired; the right or wrong attitude towards life is contracted and the outlook towards society is formed. The child is equipping himself with all the things that are required to make him a mature adult, a fit member of society. In short, this is the most important period of education from the point of view of proper physical and mental growth. Thus, the present values attached to the different stages of education must be revised: the pre-primary stage *i.e.*, from two to six years should be the first in importance; next should come the primary stage, from six to twelve; and then the secondary stage, from twelve to sixteen or eighteen.

If children get proper rearing, and the required assistance and guidance to help their growth; if they get good opportunities to develop their powers, natural gifts and inclinations in the formative period; and if they are not encumbered with wrong ideas, made nervous by unnecessary fears and retarded by cruel repressions in the tender years of their growth, more than half the job of educating them would be accomplished.

In the present set-up, most of the expense, better intellect, expert knowledge and facilities are concentrated on higher education and the delicate pre-primary stage is neglected.

For sometime past, attention has been diverted towards this anomalous state and some efforts are being made to look after the childhood education. Our Balwadis are the outcome of this realisation.

The teachers who are sent to organise and run Balwadis, must be aware of the fact that they are entrusted with a most important nation-building activity. They should always bear in mind that they are the foundation-layers, doing a delicate and valuable job. *Gram Sevikas* must have respect for the work entrusted to them and they must do it well so that it would be respected and given its proper place in development plans.

What is a Balwadi ?

We must first have a clear idea of a Balwadi, the sphere of its activity, the subjects to be taught in it, the methods to be used, and the apparatus and equipment required.

The *Balwadi* is not a school where children must sit rigidly in their places and learn what is taught. It is not a place where formal behaviour is expected and fixed rules are observed. It is an extension of the home, a sort of collective house for the children of the same age.

The child should feel that the Balwadi is his bigger home equipped with the things that he needs, while his parents' house is his smaller home where the near and dear relatives of different ages live together. Of course, living with father, mother, brothers and sisters in an atmosphere of natural love that binds them all together, is absolutely necessary for his physical and emotional growth. Still he will love to spend most of his time in a Balwadi in the company of other children and the teacher who is like an elder sister to him and who helps him in his difficulties and provides interesting occupations, tells nice stories, sings melodious songs and even plays with him.

The Balwadi is a place specially fitted for children. In homes, things are kept at such heights that children cannot reach them and have to seek the help of their elders every now and then. The vessels and other things in the house are too big for them to handle. Besides, generally speaking, there is little space where they can romp about and pursue the activities they love. There is no special apparatus suited to their size, strength and needs.

The Balwadi fulfils the special needs of children. Here children play about, handle things and make use of the aids provided, without any fear of being scolded now and then. That there is no punishment for breakages or mistakes made unconsciously, is a great relief to them. They can move about and do what they are longing to do with full confidence and feeling that they are handling the things that belong to them. This atmosphere of freedom from fear and anxiety is a great help to the healthy growth of the mind and body. Thus Balwadi is a place for rest, play and satisfaction of the inner urges of children.

The pre-primary schools bear different names according to the ideas of those who started them. They are termed Nursery Schools to be distinguished from Primary Schools. In the latter, the teaching of the three R's is the main job, while in nursery schools, playing with toys, singing nursery songs, telling nursery stories and playing games are stressed. In addition, there is some easy hand-work, crayon drawing and needle work suited to the three-to-five year old children. These schools function only for three hours or so every day.

There are others that are conducted in mills and factories for the children of the workers. They are conducted from morning till evening, for children have to be kept there and looked after all the time their parents are working. In the case of such nursery schools some more activities are provided; children are given midday meals and afternoon milk and there are arrangements for midday rest.

They are commonly called Kindergartens, *i.e.*, children's gardens. Their name conveys the idea that the school should be looked upon by children not as a prison or a place to be dreaded, but as a garden where they could be happy.

Dr. Montessori named her pre-primary school as *Casa Bambini i.e.*, children's home. The name denotes more clearly what a pre-primary institution should be. It must be like a home to the children. The same idea is expressed by the Indian word *Balghar*.

The idea behind this name is that the atmosphere must not be strict, formal and business-like, but homely and

affectionate. Here children can lie down, roll on carpet or even go to sleep, if they are so inclined. There are no awe-inspiring and hard-faced masters in these institutions but friendly teachers. They play with them, share their joys and sorrows.

Shri Gijubhai Badheka, who conducted an ideal nursery school on Montessori lines and made it popular in Gujerat named it *Bal Mandir, i.e.*, a temple of children.

Balwadi is the name given to the nursery school organised in the rural area at Bordi by *Nutan Bal Shikashan Sangh*. Bordi is situated on the sea coast, about eighty miles north of Bombay, and has a number of orchards. The orchards are called *Wadis* in Marathi. Shri Juratram Dave, a social worker of Gujerat, when he visited the place compared the nursery school to a *Wadi*. So he called the institution "Balwadi". Lately, the word has become current for nursery schools in rural areas. Workers in the field of pre-primary education have given the name Balmandirs to urban nursery schools and Balwadis to rural ones. The main difference in the two lies in the apparatus, equipment and teaching aids used. A Balmandir is up-to-date and fully equipped while in a Balwadi most of the expensive materials are not used, and efforts are made to produce educational materials from the things obtainable locally, such as shells, seeds, bamboos, etc. Not that the rural children do not need all the materials and equipments. On the contrary, they need the aids much more in order to supplement the dearth of materials in their homes and in the village.

Yet, we have to do without the full equipment because the cost is prohibitive. One or two Balwadis may be equipped fully, but on a national scale that is impossible. So we have decided to do without the full equipment and the defect has to be made good, as far as possible, by resourcefulness of the teacher. Thus the responsibility of a village Balwadi teacher is very great and he or she must be well-trained for the job.

CHAPTER 2

ORGANISING A BALWADI

A *Gram Sevika* who has had practical experience of this work will not find it difficult to organise a Balwadi in a new place. She knows the difficulties in the way and also the methods to overcome them.

The thing that she has to do is to be introduced to the people in general and the leaders of the community in particular. A good introduction goes a long way. She must contact a person who has influence with the people of the village and is respected and accepted as a leader. If that person introduces the teacher to the villagers, her work will become easy.

Even when a *Gram Sevika* is well introduced, much will depend on her personality, tact and capacity for winning the hearts of the people, especially of the mothers. For achieving this, she must tackle her task neither as a benefactor, nor with superior airs, but as a friend who is prepared to mix with the villagers on an equal footing and is ready to share their difficulties and remedy them whenever possible.

The way of life, dress and house-keeping, all count. If the first impression is bad, everything goes wrong. But if the hearts are won at the outset, things become easier. In this respect, we can learn much from foreign missionaries. They come from such a long distance. They are foreign to everything in the country—the language, the way of life, and even the ideas of good and bad social behaviour. With all these handicaps, they have something very precious with them—a vehement desire to do something to redress miseries, to lessen sorrows and to comfort and help.

It is this which enables them to make a success of their work. Similarly *Gram Sevikas*, too, must try to inculcate this necessary spirit in themselves.

House-visiting, sharing the joys and sorrows of the people

among whom she is working is the first thing that a *Gram Sevika* must do. Next she must bring some joy in their lives. Even the poor and ignorant like to have some entertainment. So organisation of small functions is necessary. There are several things that can be done. A *Gram Sevika* can hold a ceremony in connection with naming of a new born baby, perhaps, a brother or a sister of one of the children in the Balwadi. All the mothers of the neighbourhood can be invited. It is a joyous function in which the mothers as well as the children of the Balwadi can take part. There are several things, such as, games, dramatic performances, rural dances, fairs and picnics that can be arranged.

A village worker's first task, therefore, is to win love and confidence of the people. It is true that if we are able to help villagers materially by giving them work or lending them money on easy conditions, they are more likely to look upon us as their benefactors. So, very often, workers are tempted to give free gifts of clothes or food etc. But neither work nor free gifts go a long way. Villagers are shrewd enough to accept benefits and still be suspicious towards workers for they are an alien element in their midst. Our patience and sincerity can convince them after a considerable time. So a *Gram Sevika* must not expect quick results and be prepared to pass through hard tests.

The Gram Sevika and the children

The village teacher's work is more difficult than that of other workers. Those who give medical relief are looked upon by villagers as friends because they give them relief from pain. But the good that a teacher does for their uplift is not immediately visible and very often is beyond their understanding. The Balwadi teacher is considered to be even more useless.

Hence her task is an up-hill one. Still there is a silver lining to her hard lot. This is provided by children. It is easier to win over the affection of these little ones. They readily respond to friendship, for their minds have not been vitiated by bitter experiences. A Balwadi teacher gets the

reward for her efforts instantly in the shape of affection and confidence that the little ones repose in her. Besides this, the buoyancy, hopefulness and natural freshness of children are a great tonic for the Balwadi teacher.

Very often, the teacher cannot forget that she is an adult and cannot mix freely with children. In such a case, children, instinctively feel the stiffness and a needless barrier arises.

One must remember that children are very shrewd in choosing their friends. They know at once who is really friendly and who is only trying to be friendly. If our hearts go to them, their response is spontaneous. It is very important that a relationship of affectionate friendliness is established between the Balwadi teacher and the Balwadi children.

The Gram Sevikas

Recently there have cropped up several Balwadis in rural areas of India. The National Memorial Kasturba Trust, Sarvodaya Kendras, Social Welfare Boards, different Seva Mandals and similar agencies are running these Balwadis. But in many cases, the work of these Balwadis is not satisfactory. The reason is that the work being new, there is no fixed pattern of a Balwadi in rural area, accepted by all. So there are different types in different places. It is high time some pattern of a Balwadi is adopted by all. So also there must be some definiteness as to what material is to be used and the *Gram Sevika* must be fully trained in the work she is expected to do. Usually a Balwadi *Sevika* has no idea or has a very vague idea of what she has to do in a Balwadi. That is the main reason why she is unsuccessful in conducting a Balwadi. Her training is insufficient and she does not have proper guidance from time to time. It is absolutely necessary for the agencies that are running rural Balwadis to see that (1) their Balwadi teachers are properly trained, (2) the type of equipment in the use of which they are well trained, is provided in ufficient quantity, and (3) they are given proper guidance from time to time. Then only can we hope to find Balwadis running well.

The building and the play ground

In organising a Balwadi, the first thing to do is to secure a suitable building. In villages it is very difficult to find a suitable building for a Balwadi. Usually all the buildings are meant for residential purposes and even they are small cottage-like houses without proper light and ventilation. If we go to the villages of the *adivasis*, we find the huts even smaller than the village houses.

There are, however, some fairly suitable places for a Balwadi. Temples very often have big *sabhamandaps* or verandas with open space around them, built for religious functions and for the residence of *sadhus*. They are almost ideal places for Balwadis. But then, the question of admitting *Harijan* children presents a difficulty. Now that temples have been thrown open to all by law, no one can object to their admission. Some people, however, do not like temples to be polluted by the constant presence of *Harijans*. So, they create a number of difficulties. They even try to oust Balwadis from temples. Even if they do not go to that extent, their sympathies are alienated. Thus difficulties arise and work suffers.

So, although the place and the garden are attractive, the *Sevika* must proceed with care in securing the use of a temple. She must first make sure that no difficulties are likely to arise and must make it clear that she is not prepared to compromise and that all children without distinction of caste or creed will be admitted.

If there are two parties in a village, one of which is against this practice, it is best to avoid the struggle, or otherwise the worker will get mixed up in skirmishes, which must be scrupulously avoided. It is better to forego the advantage of the temple than to get involved in undesirable local politics.

Besides temples, in a village, there are usually *dharamshalas* or waiting halls or resting places for travellers. Some portion of these places can, with the consent of the local leaders, be reserved for a Balwadi. Only it must be ensured that children are not disturbed or frightened by *sadhus* and other travellers and that the cleanliness and other arrangements of the

Balwadi are not tampered with. A definite portion of the building and the open space with a hedge or wire fencing should be allotted to the Balwadi.

Then there may be some private godowns or some other places available for a Balwadi. As a rule, it is very difficult to secure an ideal building in a village. In cities, we may come across some buildings that are fairly suitable but even they are not as good as the buildings specially built for the purpose.

CHAPTER 3

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF A BALWADI BUILDING

The following are essential in a Balwadi building :

(1) THE SITUATION : A Balwadi must be situated not far from the main habitation of the people of the place. Children attending a Balwadi are below six, so they often feel uneasy to be far away from their homes. They wish to go home for some time and then return to the Balwadi. The practice of carrying children in a bus or a car from a distance of two or three miles is not at all desirable. Very often, children get suddenly ill and have to be sent home. So, a Balwadi building should be about a quarter or at the most, half a mile from the campus of a village or town.

There are other points to be taken into consideration while choosing the site for a Balwadi. It must be a quiet and safe place, not in the midst of the buzz of a market or a business place. It must also have some open space which could be used for gardening and outdoor play.

(2) THE BUILDING : The first thing needed in a Balwadi building is spaciousness. Children must have freedom of movement. If they are walking, running or carrying things from place to place, their progress should not be hindered on account of shortage of space. So the rooms must be at least 18′×22′ with wide lobbies. The number of rooms must be in proportion to the number of children in a Balwadi. One room and a lobby with open space are required for 20 to 25 children. If there are more children, more rooms must be added.

Rooms must be well-lighted and well-ventilated. In India, working in the open is possible during half the year at least. Work in open air should be encouraged as far as possible. If there are big trees in the compound, seats can be made under and around them for children to enable them to do their individual work. Even a whole class can sit under the

shade of a tree for stories, songs, etc. If there is no natural shade, an extension shed should be put up with leaf or grass-thatching.

(3) THE COMPOUND: The open space should be big enough for a playground, a small garden, latrines, urinals and dumping pits. The last three must be taken up first. In villages, clean habits are of the utmost importance. It is very difficult to change the habits of adults. But the children in Balwadis can easily be educated into good habits. The *Gram Sevika* will have to be very vigilant about the proper use of latrines and urinals. She must spare no efforts till good habits in this respect become an accomplished fact. Small pits for spitting and cleaning the nose are also necessary; so also bigger pits for dumping rubbish. Latrines and urinals must be of the trench-type. The excreta should always be covered with dry earth; and should be removed when one pit is full; and all the contents of these pits must be used as manure after six months or so. Children must know that the contents are valuable and worth preserving as manure. At this stage no scientific explanation need be given. It is enough if they know two things; first, that if nuisance is committed anywhere and everywhere, it is ugly, unclean and derogatory to health, as diseases are spread by flies sitting on dirt, and that is why it must always be covered with dry earth or ashes. Secondly, excreta and urine are not mere waste matters but, if properly preserved, turn into valuable manure. These two things should be impressed on children's minds by constantly bringing these to their notice.

The remaining space must be divided into three parts. Play-ground materials for outdoor exercises should be provided in one part, open space should be left for outdoor games and the third part should be utilised for children's garden. If open space is big enough, a portion can be reserved for a kitchen garden and another for experimental gardening.

CHAPTER 4

ACTIVITIES OF A BALWADI

Gram Sevikas must have a clear idea of how a Balwadi is to be run, what its time table should be and what activities should be introduced.

They are inclined to buy a lot of equipment and playing materials that they usually see in other Balmandirs. The training institutes for Balwadis, however, have come to the conclusion, that the practising Balwadis should have as little of the ready-made apparatus as possible. Then trainees will see teachers conducting Balwadis with the help of improvised materials.

In a Balwadi there can be several activities which do not require any specially prepared apparatus. The following are the main ones. Several others can be thought out as circumstances demand.

There are in a Balwadi two types of activities—the free and the guided or directed. New children prefer to play by themselves and do not like to be directed as they are new to their surroundings. So the free activities help them to get normalised with a Balwadi.

These free activities are not given up even after normalisation. Many of the older children take to them as a sort of rest after doing other work, where concentration, application and effort are required.

The free activities that can find a place in a Balwadi can be divided into the outdoor and indoor activities. The child generally prefers the outdoor ones in the beginning, for he is often afraid to enter a house thinking it to be some strange place belonging to someone else.

Outdoor activities

The outdoor activities include the following:

(1) WALKING: Just walking about is an engaging activity

which a child may enjoy. The refreshing breeze, the shade of a tree, the movement of leaves and if there is a garden, the flowers in it, are a source of delight to him.

(2) Sitting and watching: A new child as a rule likes to sit and watch other children play or do something, from a distance. He is afraid to mix with them but enjoys their jokes and play from a distance. When he is assured of their friendliness he slowly gets over his bashfulness or the fear of strangers.

(3) Picking up and collecting things: This provides a good activity which does not need much of learning or mastering a skill. Children may pick up anything they like. Then they can even sort out shells, coloured stones, lead pencils, chalk pieces, etc., and throw away the rubbish in the pit specially dug for the purpose.

Collecting leaves, flowers, shells for decoration is an interesting activity. After the rainy season, there are several grass and other wild flowers, growing in the compound, which can be collected in baskets and brought to the teacher. Finding out something that the teacher likes and makes use of in decoration, brings a child nearer to his teacher and helps to establish friendship between the two. Then he feels assured of his safety and security and does not mind mixing and taking part in other activities.

(4) Watering plants: If there is a garden or even a few plants, watering is another activity that engages the newcomer. Playing in water is a favourite pastime with almost all children. Naturally they are attracted by buckets and watering cans. If other children are engaged in this activity, the new child readily joins them.

(5) Carrying things: Carrying things from one place to another is an easy activity, which children enjoy immensely. If they are provided with definite work of this sort, it becomes a purposeful activity. For instance, there may be a heap of bricks or stones which are to be removed. If small buckets or pans are provided to carry them, children love to fill and take them to the other end and empty them. Similarly earth can be carried to the garden and sand to the

sand pits. If there are small carts to be pushed, children enjoy it still better.

(6) BRICKMAKING AND CLAY MODELLING: Under the shade of a tree or a shed built specially for the purpose, these activities can be conducted. Clay-straining, as is done by potters; breaking earth lumps with a wooden hammer and sieving the soil to spread in the garden plots; or making bricks out of clay, are joyous activities that attract children. Water and earth are the two elements nature has freely given to children to play with. Even a beggar's child can indulge in playing with them. If mud is provided, clay modelling is a creative activity for a child. A sand pit provides a lot of interesting work. Children can build castles, houses, cottages, gardens and sparrows' nests, etc. with sand. If small buckets, shovels, different cake forms, etc., are provided, children think of a hundred and one things to do in the sand. One good point about sand is that it does not dirty clothes or body as mud and wet clay do. Even the big dams and geographical models of mountains and rivers are made by children. Temples on top of hills and a zig-zag road at bottom are often made. So in a Balwadi a sandpit in the open or in a shed in the compound is absolutely necessary.

These and several other such activities can be provided in the open space for a child to play freely.

The materials for outdoor play such as swings, sliding boards, ladders, etc. provide the free activities that normalise a child and help him to mix freely with other children.

Indoor activities

There are several indoor activities in which a child can engage himself freely. They include the following:

(1) BUILDING BLOCKS: Even ordinary pieces of wood collected from a carpenter's workshop can be used for making buildings by children. The coloured slabs that we get in a toy-shop are of course better. Then there are the special building boxes for building houses. They have bricks, pillars, arches, etc. so that children can be left free to build whatever they like. They often show great originality

and imagination in arranging blocks. They build bridges, big gates and walls and even a whole town. So, besides being a free activity for normalising newcomers, it is a creative activity for the older children.

(2) DESIGN MAKING AND MOSAIC WORK: Seeds like those of tamarind, red beans and *gunj*, beads, shells, and similar things can be used for design making or mosaic work. In the beginning the ready-made drawings of different forms like a circle, a triangle, a square, a heart or a *swastik* could be provided to children to put seeds on outlines. Sometimes they do the lines in one kind of seed and fill the rest with another. Later on they begin to have their own designs. This also becomes a creative and artistic activity for children, developing their taste for producing beautiful forms. For this purpose, several things like used matches, stones, pieces of bricks, etc. can be used.

(3) STRINGING BEADS, SHELLS, FLOWERS: Children love to string coloured beads and make a necklace. They can string shells and decorate doors. Some shells have holes in them, while holes can be made in others by a little hammering. Even curtains can be made out of shells. Collecting a number of them of a particular kind or collecting shells of several types and then sorting them out is itself an interesting occupation. Even elders find it interesting when they visit a seashore.

Garlandmaking is of course an attractive and pleasing occupation. In certain seasons, flowers can be gathered in abundance. Collecting them forms one activity and stringing them and making garlands another. Children like to wear them around their necks or put them on photographs. It can be an everyday activity to garland the photographs of Saraswati—the Goddess of Learning or of great men, like Gandhiji.

(4) TOYS: There are several toys that can provide free activity, such as, rings to be put on each other in order of their size, shape or colour. Models of carts, motor cars, etc., can be taken to pieces and reconstructed with the help of screws, etc.

(5) Looking at picture books: Children, even below the age of two, are fond of looking at and recognising pictures. The illustrated catalogues of big departmental stores serve this purpose very well. In them, children come across several things of everyday use, such as cups, saucers, spoons, towels, clothes, etc. Then there are advertisements in daily newspapers and magazines. Pictures of motor cars, boats, ships, buses, aeroplanes and of several common animals like dogs, cats, horses, elephants and birds, flowers and fruits are found in them. The teacher will do well to cut them out and stick them in a scrapbook in a classified order. Later on this kind of work can be done by children. They should be encouraged to prepare a scrapbook of their own.

Cleanliness

Cleanliness is extremely important and consists of many activities. First comes washing. Children are required to wash their hands after activities like *safai* and clay modelling as also before and after meals. Provision of water, soap and a napkin for this purpose is necessary. But that is not enough. Children must be shown how to wash their hands. There are so many small actions required for washing one's hands properly. The teacher must know how the child finds it convenient to wash. If he has to use one of his hands to pour water, the child is not able to wash his hands properly as the other hand remains engaged. He only pours water on the other hand and makes it wet. He is not able to rub it and remove the dirt. So our arrangement should be that two children should help each other in pouring water. Very often a child offers to pour water for all the children.

A child cannot work quickly as we do. Each little action has to be brought to his notice and he must be left to master the action. So, a simple thing like washing one's hands properly involves as many as four or five small actions: rubbing the palms on each other, rubbing the back of one hand with the other, cleaning the part between two fingers and so on. A regular demonstration must be made as to how hands are to be washed. It must be gone through again and

again, for merely seeing it once is not enough for a child. Then he must be allowed to practise the movements. We must allow him sufficient time to master them by repeating again and again. In the same way, the methods of washing other parts of the body must be shown to him.

Besides washing of limbs, personal cleanliness includes combing of hair, cutting and cleansing nails and the use of a handkerchief, etc. Washing of small clothes like a handkerchief or a knicker can also form one of the activities.

General *safai* includes sweeping floors, dusting furniture, *safai* of the compound and the picking up of stray pieces of paper, rags, dry leaves, etc. Our people, as a rule, are not used to paying any attention to this type of cleanliness. The housewife sweeps her floors and throws rubbish on the road. People eat bananas, groundnuts and oranges in the train and make a mess of the compartment. So, particular attention must be paid to the formation of good habits in this respect. Children, when they are shown how to sweep and dust, must also be shown at the same time where to throw the rubbish. It should be a daily programme to collect all the rubbish, inside and around the school, and take it ceremoniously to a pit, specially dug for the purpose. Time taken by these activities must not be considered as wasted, because formation of good habits is one of the important things to be achieved at this stage and age.

Safai work is often looked upon by the elders as tedious, dirty and below their dignity. But children as a rule love these activities, they take intense pleasure in making the place clean and nice-looking with their own efforts.

Decoration

Decorating and making the place beautiful is also a creative activity. In Balwadis, we can have several activities that will beautify the place and which can be easily undertaken by children. We can think of the varied ways of decoration, which practically cost nothing, such as the following :

(1) Decoration with leaves : In the vicinity of villages, green bushes, creepers, trees and grass grow in abundance

with which the Balwadi can be decorated. In different seasons we get different types of leaves with which children can decorate the place. For instance in spring, several trees get fresh tiny leaves which are very soft, tender and shining. Some of them are light green, some yellowish and some reddish. These make a very pleasant decoration. The tiny fresh leaves are refreshing to look at in the hands of children. Children can be shown how twigs could be hung on the loops on walls, or arranged in the earthen bowls. Many flowering plants can be grown with little toil and practically no expense. A small garden is an essential part of a Balwadi. The *barmasis* or *sada-fulees* are tough plants which grow even in unfertile soil. They have a special advantage. They flower all the year round as their names denote, *barmasi*, meaning blooming all the twelve months and *sada-fulee* meaning ever blooming. Secondly, they are not eaten by stray animals like goats. Then flowers like marigold, as well as bushes and creepers, can find a place in the garden of a village. Even roses can be grown on hilly soil.

If wild flowering trees are not available near the village they can be planted and reared. The reddish saffron coloured *palas* is the king of wild flowers. Bright red colour of *pangara*, *gul-mohor* and laburnums, etc. and yellow, heliotrope, blue and white hues of other flowers give an attractive look to a Balwadi. Then there are the fragrant blossoms of the *mehendi*, *neem*, and mango trees with which Balwadis can be decorated.

(2) Fruits and seeds: Several fruits and seeds can be used for decoration. The rich red fruits of a *vad* tree and several small fruits of creepers and wild plants are available in jungles and on road sides. Tiny seeds of the red *wal*, the red and black or white seeds of *gunj* and also seeds of *chiku*, *sitafal*, *shika-kai* and *aritha* can be used for decoration in the form of *rangoli*. The white seeds of *dudhi* and the red seeds of *karela* form a good combination for the *rangoli* or geometrical designs either on the ground or on a piece of white or green cloth. Even the fruits and seeds that form our food can be used for decoration; only the teacher must take care that

these are not wasted in the end. We can have attractive designs made of different grains. Milky white rice and *jowar*, brownish wheat, greenish *bajri* and deeper green *mung*, black *urad* and the pleasant pale red *masur* pulse, provide different shades of varied tints and colours. Afterwards seeds can be separately picked up by children, incidentally providing a good occupation for them, or they can all be mixed and ground together to make some tasty cakes, *muthias* or *dhoklas*. So also, the different leafy vegetables, fruits and beans can provide good decorating material. The attractive red colour of tomatoes and ripe chillies, the deep dark violet colour of brinjals, the white or rosy colour of onions and the varied shades of green, give a pleasant appearance to the designs produced out of them. Fruits like oranges, *musambis*, mangoes, bananas, apples, and lemons can be arranged in attractive ways before being used as food.

(3) SHELLS, STONES AND COLOURED EARTH: Besides flowers etc., several other things can be used as materials for decoration. Different types of shells can be collected on the sea-shore or river banks. In some places, we get the beautiful shining pebbles and even coloured stones and red, yellow or white earth. If a portion of the ground is smeared with coloured earth and designs are made on it with shells and stones it looks very attractive. Coloured earth can provide fascinating borders for decorative designs. Thus if we keep our eyes open, we can find several things which cost nothing and yet can be put to a really artistic use.

(4) RANGOLI AND ALPANA: *Rangoli* and *alpana* designs are found in every part of our country. They are produced with very cheap material and yet they are very beautiful to look at. Children can be initiated into this art by decorating the Balwadi with *rangoli* and *alpana*.

Decoration forms an important part of the Balwadi activities. Besides the development of the aesthetic side of human nature, it has other advantages. The first is that children get a good opportunity to handle small beads and seeds, leaves and flowers, delicately and skilfully. This requires subtle movements of fingers. Using one's hand well

and manipulating the small skilful movements of the fingers is an important part of child education. Secondly, decoration satisfies the creative instinct of the child. Very often we come across original and beautiful designs made by children. Thirdly, children are introduced to mother nature. They enjoy the beauty of nature with all their senses: the sight, touch, smell, etc. Then, this familiarity with nature helps them cultivate a scientific attitude. They know what leaves, flowers and blossoms will be available in the different seasons.

To collect leaves, flowers, fruits, shells, stones, etc. to decorate the Balwadi, children go to the seaside, mountains and other places. This is a healthy activity from the physical point of view. It also makes their observation keen, draws their attention to several things of daily use and teaches them to discriminate and choose right things.

Collection

The collection as such is akin to decoration. Children, when they are wandering to collect leaves, flowers for decoration, can also collect several things that appeal to their fancy, and keep them in the museum of the Balwadi. Children have the instinct of possessing little things that attract them, which may be useless from the elders' point of view. We find their pockets full of stones, pieces of broken bangles, glass pieces of different colours and coloured, shining coverings of candy, etc.

We can divert this instinct of collection a little and systematize it. As a rule there is not much discrimination in the beginning, for the main instinct of children is to possess and have a big collection. If we help to classify and put their collection in some order, it will guide them to select and look for a particular thing. From the heterogeneous collection, feathers, stones, shells, seeds, etc. can be sorted out and sub-classified as red or green, short or long, big or small, hard or soft. This involves comparing and contrasting, and selecting which encourages children to make a close examination of things. For instance, if the things are to be sorted as breakable or unbreakable, children have to make

Outdoor play : The Jungle Gym

Drawing water and carrying it to the garden is an interesting activity for the Balwadi children

Walls and floors of the house make an ideal surface for practising drawing and painting

experiments to find it out. This activity arouses in them a desire to experience and experiment for themselves and also stimulates mental processes like comparing, contrasting and arranging in order of degrees.

A little guidance will develop in them a scientific attitude of looking at things and understanding natural phenomena.

Gardening

Children between two and six years of age always want to do something with their hands. In the beginning big muscular movements are favoured because they require less manipulation and control. That is why, we see children digging, carrying loads, running, jumping and playing with water. All these big muscular movements, where physical force is required, find a place in gardening. Besides, children get open-air exercise and come in direct contact with the growth of the animate world. Gardening also satisfies the innate parental instinct in children of looking after and rearing the weak and tender things, to care for them as living belongings. The growing and blooming of trees and flowers are miraculous natural processes of interest for children. This is, therefore, a very healthy activity in which children should be allowed to indulge as much as they like. This activity can be divided as follows.

(1) Big physical movements: Digging pits and carrying the dug-out earth to another place, drawing and carrying water from a tank to a garden, weeding and picking dry and insect-eaten leaves, spreading sand on the left-out ground, making borders with shells, bricks or stones and such other activities can be thought out. Lifting, carrying, pulling, pushing, using implements for digging and watering-cans, etc. are the principal movements that children are required to make for the development of their muscles. Children love them immensely. Even where much gardening is not possible on account of dearth of water or bad soil, toiling in a garden or a farm should be provided.

(2) Making beds: Measuring of plots, digging in straight lines, breaking of clods and big lumps into fine earth,

Drawing water and carrying it to the garden is an interesting activity for the Balwadi children

Walls and floors of the house make an ideal surface for practising drawing and painting

experiments to find it out. This activity arouses in them a desire to experience and experiment for themselves and also stimulates mental processes like comparing, contrasting and arranging in order of degrees.

A little guidance will develop in them a scientific attitude of looking at things and understanding natural phenomena.

Gardening

Children between two and six years of age always want to do something with their hands. In the beginning big muscular movements are favoured because they require less manipulation and control. That is why, we see children digging, carrying loads, running, jumping and playing with water. All these big muscular movements, where physical force is required, find a place in gardening. Besides, children get open-air exercise and come in direct contact with the growth of the animate world. Gardening also satisfies the innate parental instinct in children of looking after and rearing the weak and tender things, to care for them as living belongings. The growing and blooming of trees and flowers are miraculous natural processes of interest for children. This is, therefore, a very healthy activity in which children should be allowed to indulge as much as they like. This activity can be divided as follows.

(1) Big physical movements: Digging pits and carrying the dug-out earth to another place, drawing and carrying water from a tank to a garden, weeding and picking dry and insect-eaten leaves, spreading sand on the left-out ground, making borders with shells, bricks or stones and such other activities can be thought out. Lifting, carrying, pulling, pushing, using implements for digging and watering-cans, etc. are the principal movements that children are required to make for the development of their muscles. Children love them immensely. Even where much gardening is not possible on account of dearth of water or bad soil, toiling in a garden or a farm should be provided.

(2) Making beds: Measuring of plots, digging in straight lines, breaking of clods and big lumps into fine earth,

picking up stones and spreading the soft earth in the beds or putting it in earthen pots, all these can be performed by children as preliminary activities.

(3) Sowing seeds and planting seedlings: In these processes, opportunity should be given to children of experimenting. There should be two types of plots—one in which children will grow whatever they like and one to be worked under a teacher's guidance. Children should be the sole masters of their experimental plot.

Experimental gardening: By cultivating their own plot in their own way, children learn to distinguish between things that can grow and that cannot. Children often want to sow a piece of chalk, a pice, a shell or even dolls with the expectation of multiplying them. Their inference has an analogy in what they see happening in the case of other trees and bushes—one small seed yielding a number of seeds when they bear fruit. They reason that just as small maize seeds sprout after a little watering, grow into big plants and give them thousands of maize seeds, the things they have sown will also sprout after a little watering, grow into big plants and multiply. But when they see that there is no change in those things they begin to think of the reason. They often ask questions and come to the conclusion that there are some things that grow and some that do not. At this stage, the teacher can give them the proper explanations. Simple experiments can be shown to them by the teacher. For instance she can sow seeds and water only a portion of the land and keep the other portion dry. She can also sow seeds in two small bowls, water them and keep one of them in a tightly closed box and the other one in the sun. These are the very simple experiments provoking children to find out why some seeds grow and others do not. Different kinds of plants can be sown in the plots so that children will observe and compare the process of growth of these plants.

CHAPTER 5

TRAINING OF MUSCULAR MOVEMENTS

Learning proper and skilful muscular movements of different types is a special occupation of the child. He has to learn the use of his limbs and other parts of his body. The use of his hand is the most important one that he has to master. The movements of the other parts of the body are also important. The different movements that a child has to learn can be classified as under :

(*a*) Big movements of the body including those of hand and feet.

(*b*) Small movements required in everyday work of personal nature.

(*c*) Small movements required in exercises of practical life.

(*d*) Skilled movements and manipulation of the fingers required in handiworks and crafts.

Big movements

A child, less than five years old, is weak in legs and feet. He is not fully developed as yet and the weight and size of the upper body is too great a burden for the delicate feet to bear. Still he is, as a rule, very fond of walking, running and jumping which require the use of feet. Bearing in mind the delicate condition of his feet, and their constant use in daily life, we should think of other movements of hands and body for his play. Children themselves find them out and love to repeat them. In order to give the feet rest and encourage the movements of the whole body, rolling on ground, turning somersaults, hanging on bars, swinging on roman rings or knotted ropes and sliding on a board should be encouraged. Pulling, pushing, clasping and jumping, climbing on a straight staircase of bamboos with the help of all the four limbs and walking on ground

on all fours are the other movements that children love to do. All these activities conducted in the open are healthy ones. They encourage the movements of the muscles of the back and the stomach; they also make lungs work briskly and help in maintaining the general balance of body when in motion. Breathing and other formal exercises are not advisable at this tender age. The usual play that children indulge in is much preferable. Children of ten, walk like ducks or dogs or cats and move about like crocodiles on the ground. These are very good movements, for, besides giving exercise to the body muscles, they are mirthful mimicry, which is very enjoyable to children.

Working in a garden which includes digging and carrying earth or water is also very healthy. So also are the nursery games played by children in rural areas.

Inhibition of movements

Just as physical movements involve control and manipulation of muscles, the conscious inhibition of movements also involves greater control. Besides, inhibitive exercises are very beneficial, as short periods of rest are essential to the ever active child. Thus lying down on the back with no movements whatsoever is the first pose that a child should be encouraged to master. Among the *yogic asanas* the *shabasan* *i.e.*, lying down like a dead body with complete relaxation of all the muscles and with complete immobility, is one of the best. Children, if shown properly by the teacher how to lie down, as part of a game, soon get into the habit. It is not at all a difficult acquirement for the little ones. Feeling restful after much activity is soothing to them and once they learn how to lie in a restful position they resort to it at other times too.

A teacher should never condemn their lying or rolling on the ground as something unsuitable in the school. Herein comes the informal nature of the Balwadi which is not a school, but an extension of the home.

The game of silence introduced by Dr. Montessori is also very essential from the rest point of view. It reserves the

energy of the child, wasted in uncalled for actions. Most children are in the habit of moving hands, legs, faces and the whole body quite unnecessarily. The game of silence gives them practice in inhibition of movements at will. Children who have been initiated in the game can sit quietly to hear stories and songs, see dramas, etc. This helps them learn the art of concentration, saves energy and gives control over movements by the use of will power. When they are quiet and silent, their attention is drawn to several sounds, like the ticking of a clock, hissing of boiling water, chirping of birds, blowing of the wind through leaves and small movements. So also they are alive to the fragrance of flowers, incense, etc.

The technique of the game must be carefully mastered by a Balwadi teacher. To achieve control over our movements is not an easy thing. It requires concentration and effort on the part of the child; yet it must remain a game and should not tend to become some serious thing like the austere penance of a *rishi*. It should be played as light-heartedly as other games are played. The play element encourages children to continue the game for a long time.

Walking properly

Walking with a proper balance of body and control of movements must also be practised by children. This also can form a part of the activities of the play-ground. A long wooden board measuring 3″×2″×20′ serves a good apparatus for learning walking properly. The child has to balance his body well, while walking on this board, otherwise he slips down. In all these activities there is an element of play and amusement and children are inclined to repeat and thus master them. The teacher should, however, be careful to see that they do not get exhausted.

Small movements in the daily life for personal needs

Self-reliance: Children at this age are handicapped on account of their inability to do several things for themselves. They are not as incapable of doing things as the newborn infants. In many respects they have full confidence

that they can do the things that are forbidden to them by the elders. That they have to depend for every small want of theirs on the elders is a great inconvenience for them. For instance if they want water, it is usually specially kept beyond their reach so that they may not pollute it or play with it. So also many of their belongings of everyday use are kept on high places. The result is, they have to depend on the elders. This condition, besides being inconvenient, is a challenge to their personality. So many times during a day, children are told not to do this and that, because they are too young to manage it. Thus their weakness and smallness shown so often makes them discouraged as well as resentful. There is also the desire to show to the elders their capability. This is not a desirable state of mind. Parents at home and teachers in a Balwadi should let children do things for themselves and show them how they can be done without making a mess. In a Balwadi things of the proper size and shape must be provided and kept within an easy reach of children. Pictures and photographs should be hung at a level convenient for them. Pegs should be nailed three feet high. Their belongings, such as their own clothes and other play materials, must be kept within their reach.

Besides these arrangements, steps must be taken to help the children to learn to do their own personal work. This arrangement, is not only convenient but also gives them the satisfaction of standing on their own legs. Every time being reminded that they are unable to do this or that makes them conscious of their inability and that is humiliating. Children feel proud to be able to do their own work. Teaching how to put on clothes, button shirts or frocks, tie laces, fasten clips, fold their clothes, clean their bowls, etc. should form part of the activities of a Balwadi. These activities make the children self-reliant and at the same time help them achieve control of muscular movements and manipulation of fingers.

Exercises in practical life

Facilities should also be provided in a Balwadi for children to learn practical skills useful in daily life.

In a Balwadi, we can introduce many such exercises. There are so many small things in the kitchen which children love to handle. If they are allowed to have free use of them children feel much elated. Thus knives not very sharp, sieves, even grinding stones can form part of the Balwadi equipment. Pouring water in a bottle, filling flour in a container or small seeds like the mustard in a bottle, and many such activities of the kitchen can easily be introduced in a Balwadi. At home, and in some nursery schools, too, small toys representing kitchen utensils such as cups, saucers, etc. are kept for children to play with. But they are useless as they are too small for real use, and children do not get any satisfaction of having done real work while playing with the toys.

Exercises in this field should not be given to children as a task for it is not the amount of the work, but the skill achieved in doing it which is the important factor. Children should be free to leave the work as soon as they feel like leaving and to continue it till they feel that they have had enough. Then again this work should not be looked upon as a course of lessons that a child must go through. Children should be free to choose the work that they like. Much of this kind of work can be done in the children's lunch hour. There the work will be real and will have to be done with responsibility. Children are very serious about their work and like it to be looked upon as important and real. If lunch is prepared in a Balwadi, children get a number of things to do. It also facilitates them to work in a group.

Handicrafts

Greater skill of the fingers is required in crafts and handiwork. Of course we cannot expect great results from the little children. They are just to be introduced to the work and allowed to master the preliminary movements.

What different crafts and handiwork can be introduced in a Balwadi, is a question which we must closely examine. First, crafts must be such as children under six are able to manage. Secondly, only those crafts should be selected that can be introduced in rural areas. The material that is to be

used for the craft work should be available in the village or near about. Besides, the crafts must correspond mainly to the basic crafts that are introduced in basic schools.

Taking into consideration all these points, the handiwork that can be introduced in a Balwadi can be of the following types:

1. Spinning and weaving
2. Paper work
3. Mat making
4. Clay modelling
5. Raffia work.

In craft work, it is necessary to leave the child free to work out his own ideas in his own way, after teaching him the technique.

Very often we see a child making certain forms again and again with no change or progress. Sometimes repetition is necessary; while, sometimes the child is at a stagnant stage so far as that work is concerned. If stagnancy is reached then the teacher must give the child a lift by introducing some new thing and lead him on to a higher stage.

For instance, in clay modelling, children initially prepare balls, *laddus, jalebies, chulas,* etc. which is quite all right for the beginners. But if we see children preparing the same simple forms for days together, their attention must be drawn to other simple models or new ideas must be suggested, or some new technique must be introduced.

(1) Spinning and weaving: Although spinning and weaving are rather difficult crafts for the little ones in a Balwadi to master, children are very much interested in them as clothing is a primary need of human beings.

In a Balwadi, children can begin with cleaning cotton, taking out the seeds with an iron rod and a wooden board. They can do the carding and make slivers. Children between four and five are seen to master these actions in a short time. In the areas where cotton is cultivated, children can even begin by growing cotton in their small garden. They can be taken to nearby farms to pick cotton when it is ripe. Their working in cotton fields, creates a desire in them to know

more about it and also to learn the craft later on. Children between five and six are able to spin a little with small *charkhas* or *taklis*. Their yarn is often not strong or even, but it can be put to some use. In many schools, children's yarn is thrown away as useless. We must be very careful about not letting this happen in a Balwadi. If the yarn is very bad, strings and thin ropes can be made out of that by just twisting the yarn. Older children can do some work of this type. The teacher must be careful and industrious to see that it is put to some good use. Of course in a Balwadi, spinning and weaving are not to be taught in as much detail as in a primary school. Here what is important is that the background is prepared, so that when children go to a primary school their minds are ready and eager to learn it as a craft. Regular weaving of cloth on a handloom is not possible in a Balwadi, but if on small frames some threads are tied and a long needle with a thread is passed through them, children can get a rough idea of how cloth is woven.

(2) PAPER WORK: This is akin to cardboard modelling which is a basic craft. There are several activities that are possible with paper which are beneficial so far as the skill of the fingers is concerned. Paper cutting, paper tearing, paper sticking and paper pulp moulding are some of them. With thin coloured paper, lots of decorative things like buntings, garlands, flowers, etc. can easily be made by children.

(*a*) *Paper cutting:* In this the use of scissors to cut paper is the chief thing to be learnt by children. Small scissors that are not too sharp can be given to children of four years of age. In the beginning they should be allowed to cut paper to pieces as they like. The idea is to let the children learn the use of scissors for cutting a piece of paper into two or more pieces. Once the children acquire control over the movements, they should be taken ahead step by step as follows: (1) Cutting on a straight line; (2) Cutting along squares or triangles and later on circles and curves; and (3) Cutting a picture along its outline. Children acquire a fine control over scissors when they cut along the outline of

a picture—say that of a motor car, an aeroplane or a dog. Coloured pictures cut finely along the outline make a good picture album. By the time they go through these steps, the children will have acquired quite good control in the use of scissors. Then they can be left free to cut as they like. They usually do a lot of decorative cutting.

(*b*) *Paper folding:* For this, scissors are to be used only to cut a regular square or the shape required. Then by folding the paper in different ways, children can make boats of several varieties and several other fancy things like flower-vases, photo-frames and other decorative designs. Folding requires geometrical accuracy; so it is a more advanced stage than cutting.

(*c*) *Paper sticking:* The pictures that are cut out from newspapers and magazines can be classified and stuck in a scrap book and a picture album can be made.

When designs are cut from papers many odd shaped pieces are left. These in turn can be stuck on another paper in some design. Children show much originality and artistic sense in this work. Torn pieces can be stuck on bowls and paper vases can be made. Paper sticking is a good occupation to preserve pictures and make use of left pieces so that nothing is wasted.

(*d*) *Paper tearing:* Older children can acquire the art of tearing a piece of paper with fingers without the use of scissors and giving them good shapes. This requires more control of the finger movements.

(*e*) *Paper pulp:* All the waste pieces that are of no use, can be soaked in water for three days or so. Then they can be pounded into pulp and mixed with *urad*, *methi* or tamarind seed flour and a little clay. Bowls, baskets, cups, etc., can be made out of this pulp.

(3) CLAY MODELLING : This is the cheapest and the easiest of the handicrafts that can be introduced in a Balwadi. It can be kept as a free activity with no directions in the beginning. Later on there is good scope for development and artistic creation in which certain guidance is necessary. Older children can prepare pots of different shapes with

artistic designs out of clay. Birds, animals, human beings, fruits, flowers, in fact anything and everything can be the subject. This craft has an advantage over the art of drawing in that the children prepare three dimensional models, which are more realistic. So this craft is more suited to the lower age group.

If plasticine is used, we can get nicely finished products. The teacher must find out how to make plasticine with the material she gets in the rural areas. If that is not possible, ordinary clay that is available should be used.

(4) MAT MAKING: In Kindergartens, mat making out of paper slips is very common. But these mats are only decorative. In the rural areas, mats can be made out of *khajura* leaves or some kind of grass. These mats can be actually used by children as seats. Several other things like fans, baskets and trays can be made.

(5) RAFFIA WORK: Vegetable fibres like sisal threads, and threads of banana stems can be used for raffia work. In some parts, some grass like raffia is also available. This kind of work is easy once children know how to use a needle and many useful things like bags, purses, plates, etc. can be made out of the grass.

Skilled use of fingers if begun early, is easier to acquire. By the time children are seven years old, if their fingers are not used to delicate action earlier, it is very difficult for them to use the fingers skilfully. This is one reason why older children find craft work tedious as their fingers are set and hard to bend to some extent. Thus crafts and handiwork at this age serve a very good purpose in preparing the background of the basic crafts and initiating the children into the skilful manipulation of fingers.

Some teachers are likely to extend the idea of the basic crafts still further and try to make the crafts productive. That something useful will be produced by the children is certain. But the tests and the standards that are applied to the production in primary schools should not be applied here. Here the aim is only to initiate the children into the use of their fingers skilfully and to let them enjoy the creative

activity. The joy and satisfaction of work is the goal and not the production. In basic schools the product is evaluated in terms of money also. But it is undesirable to focus our attention on production and its money value. Children should not be coaxed to produce more in quantity nor should there be any compulsion about the time they put in. Some children may spin every day and may give it up if they get interested in some other work, say clay modelling or something else. We must not forget that children's progress and achievements are not continuous and steady. They attain a certain degree of proficiency in one direction. Then they like to do something else, where they can progress better. Later on they come back very often to the first craft and pick up the thread where they had left it. Very often their interest ceases altogether when they find some other work more attractive. We must allow them to grow from within and follow their inner urge. Our aim is only to help them to grow properly at this tender sensitive age.

CHAPTER 6

INTRODUCTION TO FINE ARTS

Along with the crafts children can be introduced to the fine arts like music, dancing, drawing and painting and acting. If we watch children closely we find that they have the seeds of all these arts in them from their infancy. Who has not seen a child dancing and frolicking about with joy ? Even an infant stops crying when he hears the melodious rhymes and lullabies. Acting is also very natural to him on account of his inclination to imitate and mimic. Picture drawing comes a little later when the child is able to hold and wield a pencil or a chalk.

CHILDREN'S DANCES : Why does a child dance ? Because he is overwhelmed with emotions mostly that of joy. Dancing thus is the easiest way of giving expression to his emotions. In a Balwadi, teaching of dancing does not mean the teaching of the intricate steps and actions that we usually see in the dance recitals. Dancing consists of rhythmic actions of feet, hands and the body. So the children should be made to dance to a rhythmic tune. Any action like clapping, jumping, bending or going round and round rhythmically is dancing.

There is a difference between action songs that are usually taught in nursery schools and these dancing games. In the former, the meaning of the songs is depicted by some action. For instance if the song is about a girl going to the well to draw water, children come with waterpots and do all the actions of drawing and carrying water rhythmically. It is expressing the sense by rhythmic actions. In dancing the actions have nothing to do with the words of the song. Very often, even a tune without words is quite enough for dancing. Usually in nursery games, there is no one to play a tune, so children sing or recite couplets and dance with artistic movements of hands, feet and the whole body to the rhythm

of the songs, the actions having no relation to the meaning of the rhyme.

Group dancing as in the famous *Ras* and *Pher* songs is also suitable for the children. These dances are simple and beautiful. Turning to the right and then to the left, or alternately sitting and standing or clapping the hands up in the air and then clapping them again after bending to the ground, etc. are simple movements and if done in a group are pleasant to look at and enjoyable to the dancers. These simple dances encourage supple and buoyant movements of the body to the rhythm. They make children hilarious as they learn the technique to express or give vent to their joyous emotions, which they are not able to contain in their hearts.

Children's movements are as a rule naturally graceful. So they need not be taught to dance in an artificial manner which the elders consider so graceful. Dancing must be a spontaneous expression of joy, the joy that the rhythmic and inspired movements create. This is absolutely absent in the specially got up dances by the dancing teacher for a special occasion. To let the children be natural and to let them forget themselves in the inspired movements, is greatly needed. As soon as children become selfconscious or conscious of the audience, all their naturalness vanishes and consequently there is no pleasure left for the elders either in watching them dance. No artificial or got up aids are required to make the performance attractive. Very often special dresses and other things come in the way of free and natural movements of the children.

Music: We all know that children are attracted and soothed by music. Often they are found listening to sweet simple tunes. They are fond of them. The art of singing comes a little later, but the love of music, the enjoyment of hearing good music is there from the early infancy. So *Gram Sevikas* should not attempt to teach songs to the children and make them sing in a particular way. It is enough if they let them hear and enjoy good, simple songs. If the songs are liked by the children, they will ask for them again and again. The

choice should be theirs and not ours. Training of the ear is a preliminary and the first stage of being music-minded. So facilities for listening to simple melodious folk songs is all that is needed. Instead of directly teaching songs and making children learn and repeat them, first they should be given an opportunity to hear the melodious tune and enjoy it. Later on, as they get familiar with the tune, they themselves join the teacher in singing. They can thus be initiated into music. Just as rhythm is the soul of dancing correct tuning and melody are the soul of music. There should be no hurry in making children sing without previous preparation.

It is wrongly thought that children's songs must be action songs only and that merely listening to music is not enjoyed by children. On the contrary, actions and movements distract their attention from the enjoyment of the sweetness of the melody. Children love to hear nonsensical songs or songs in foreign languages. We often see children engrossed in listening to cinema songs whose tunes are catchy even though the words convey no meaning to them. So in selecting songs for children, songs which have catchy tunes and attractive diction should be chosen.

Acting or dramatising: Children are born actors or mimics. There is mirth and playfulness about their imitations. Sometimes, of course, their acting does deteriorate into making fun of elders. But usually, it is innocent. Even an infant takes pleasure in bawling out as the hawkers do on the street or imitating the beggars. Children often play the blind or walk like old people. This innate tendency of dramatising can be made use of to help them understand the meaning of words clearly. By acting, the sense conveyed by words is made more clear and impressive. For instance, take the words "The old woman was trembling with fear when a tiger attacked her". These are mere words when spoken or heard. But if a girl dresses herself like an old woman, and walks along with a stick through an imaginary jungle and if some boy pounces upon her with a loud roar and if then the girl expresses fear by trembling and by her facial expressions, the meaning of the sentence is made vividly

clear. So also acting gives children an opportunity to note how different people of various professions or status in life, talk to each other. If a dialogue between the master and his servant is enacted, children are sure to note that the master speaks in an authoritative tone.

The art of acting is mainly the expression of feelings which children find very interesting. Thus dramatising small nursery stories is profitable from various points of view. This acting should come spontaneously from the children. The teacher should only demonstrate but should not compel the children to act in a particular way.

Drawing and painting: Children should be allowed to draw as they like. Very often their drawings have great meaning for themselves, but convey nothing to us. It does not matter at all even if the actual drawing is very imperfect. It is the force of expression, the child shows, which is important. In older children it is a good supplementary means for expressing one's emotions and ideas, for their language is not developed enough to facilitate correct and forceful expression of feelings, bubbling in the mind, through words. A little help and practice in wielding the pencil and using the brush takes them a long way. The attraction of colours is tremendous for children. The mixing of colours and getting new shades of colours is a never-tiring occupation for them.

For little children, the small delicate movements of the pencil and the brush are difficult and the pieces of paper too small. They should be given bigger brushes like those used for white washing. The walls and the floors of the house provide a good surface for painting. Smearing a certain portion of the wall or floor with mud or solution of coloured earth is itself a sort of beginning of painting. Though crude, it facilitates the free movements of the hand. Children do not have to limit their movements in a small space afforded by a piece of paper and to manage the delicate handling of the brush. They can take big sweeps without fear of transgressing the limits. This gives them freedom of movements without any fear of going wrong or spoiling the paper.

Simple ways of drawing a cat, a bird or a flower or certain fixed forms may be shown to the children by the teacher on a board. Children are often seen tracing these drawings with their fingers. So also, giving them outline drawings for filling in with coloured pencils helps them in learning the technique of drawing. Even tracing of simple flowers, leaves, birds, animals and other things with pencil on a transparent paper helps them to master the forms. They, of course, should not get into the habit of only tracing pictures without any attempt to draw from their own imagination. They should be encouraged to do the drawing freely without minding imperfections in form or proportion.

CHAPTER 7

ACQUAINTANCE WITH AND UNDERSTANDING THE WORLD

Everything attracts attention of a child to whom the world is new and excites great curiosity in him to know everything about it. The various shapes, forms, colours, sounds, trees, flowers, animals, birds, the sun, the moon and stars each and everything is wonderful for him. The natural phenomena like raining, blooming of colourful flowers on a tree, etc. are for him marvels of nature. The child also experiences the necessity to know the ways of nature, for otherwise he meets with accidents or very often misses the benefits he had hoped to gain. Thus in him there is a strong, uncontrollable desire to know the world, to watch the strange wonderful phenomena and happenings in nature. The sensory and motor powers of a child become sharp as he advances in age and he makes a constant effort to understand the world. Up to the age of two or two and a half, most of the energy of a child is used up in learning to walk, talk, munch with the newly-got teeth and using his primary senses of seeing, hearring, smelling, etc. and discerning large differences in apparently similar-looking things. At the age of two to two and a half, the child begins to feel the growing powers of his senses. The organic growth of his body gives him the ability to do things as the elders do and move about as they do and so he feels a strong desire to know and to do each and everything that the elders do. The period between two and seven years of age is the most sensitive period of human life in which, the child learns so many new things and is able to use his limbs to such a great extent, that the amount of knowledge gained, and acquaintances made with the world, both animate and inanimate all taken together, is much more than what he learns in the rest of his life. At this time, his capacity to make efforts knows no bounds; he is never tired

to try again and is never disheartened at his own failures. Nothing is too big or too hard for him.

In this sensitive period, the child has (1) to acquire skill in using his limbs and especially the hand and fingers, (2) to know the properties of things around him and discern subtle differences, (3) to learn the language of the people about him, and (4) to adjust himself to the social life of his family and the society around him by learning the social patterns of behaviour. The child has to go through very subtle and intricate processes to know the world properly. He has first to collect experiences through the use of his senses, then to compare, contrast and classify his experiences and place each and everyone of them, in its proper relation with other things. It is a long process requiring many repetitions and much thinking.

In the absence of ready-made materials like those devised by Madam Montessori for sensorial experience, we must improvise or at least draw children's attention to the sensory experiences and let them ponder over them. For these processes of comparing, contrasting, and classifying and being introduced to various sensory experiences, Montessori material is very useful and handy. The world presents opportunity for varied experiences no doubt; but they are all mixed up. For instance, if we take a rose, one is initially attracted by its colour, but by the time one is concentrating on the colour one's attention is drawn towards the smell, the soft touch of the petals, the shape as a whole and so on. While when a child is playing with the colour tablets devised by Madam Montessori, he is concentrating his whole attention on the colours alone. He begins to compare and contrast and so on. So whenever possible, Montessori apparatus should be used in the rural Balwadis also.

Of course, if the Montessori material is to be used, the *Gram Sevika* must be well trained in its use. They are not mere toys to be handled in any way. In order to draw their special benefits, they are to be used in a particular way, for there is a certain theory behind their use. So if the Montessori material is to be used, special training must be provided.

In the Balwadi, there is much scope for material made by the *Gram Sevika* and improvised by her. Mahatma Gandhi was very particular in forbidding the use of materials made in city factories in the rural schools, for he wanted the rural artisan to develop skill in his profession and the teacher to be resourceful and prompt to make use of the opportunities presented in the rural areas.

So the making of apparatus that we wish to use should be emphasised in the training of Balwadi *Sevikas*.

Sevikas should also be encouraged to devise several games in order to fix the experiences of children. For instance, whenever plentiful flowers of varied colours are available, we can introduce several games of colours. Let the children pick up one flower each. Then the teacher can tell them that as soon as she says red, all the children having red flowers are to come to her and say *namaste* to the class and go back to their seats. Thus, all white, yellow and saffron flowers will come up by turns to bow to the class. The children have to see what colours their flowers have when the *Sevika* calls for children having flowers of a particular colour, and when they face the class, all the other children see flowers of that particular colour in their hands. Then we can have paper ribbons of different colours, two of each colour, and ask children to wear them as garlands and then ask them to pair. They will go about the room to find one who has the ribbon of their own colour. Then they can march in pairs. Several different games like these, can be thought of, to draw their attention to the different properties of things. The teacher has to be resourceful and alert to take advantage of different seasons and different occasions.

Excursions: In order to see, know and be acquainted with the world, excursions are very useful. Weekly or biweekly trips to different places must be undertaken by Balwadis. Gardens, orchards, farms, hills, river banks, lakes and the sea shore are of course very interesting. But one must remember that they are not all. Different localities of the town must be visited. There, the children will see how different people live. The places of work of artisans, such as

the carpenter, potter, blacksmith and goldsmith and tailor, are very fascinating. Visits to different shops are interesting. Visits to vegetable, fruit and flower markets are well enjoyed by the children. Tea and refreshment shops are of course very inviting and children are delighted to see sweets like *jalebies* being prepared. They would like to taste them also. Visits to factories, railway stations, fairs, temples, etc., can be easily arranged. Children love to travel and go on picnics. The world that is an old familiar thing to us, is a store of marvels to the little ones. Each and every experience is new and joyful to them.

CHAPTER 8

LEARNING LANGUAGE AND NUMBERS

Whether children in the pre-primary stage be botherd with letters and numbers is a very vexed question. There are many educationists who are dead against the introduction of the three R's at this stage. The tendency of the general public and of the teachers who have to please the parents is to lay a great stress on the teaching of the three R's, which often becomes the main work or the only work of pre-primary schools. This teaching is, no doubt, very harmful and yet getting more popular; so one must do everything possible to discourage the pre-primary schools turning into primary schools in disguise. Nevertheless, learning of language and numbers orally is very important and necessary and can be best done in the pre-primary stage. Only it must not be done in the school way.

Children, by the time they come to a Balwadi, have already learnt the language that is needed to carry on their daily life; also they understand what is spoken to them about the everyday life around them. Their vocabulary no doubt is very limited as their needs are limited too. Now they enter the wider world and a vast arena is opened before them. They see a variety of things and have a variety of experiences and wish to tell others about them and hear others relate their wonderful experiences. They are handicapped at this age, just as we are in a foreign country, whose language we do not know. We see things that excite our curiosity and wish to exchange ideas and gain knowledge about all the strange things we see, but cannot do so for want of a common language, the vehicle for our thoughts. Children must be helped to overcome this impediment as early as possible. Children at this age are very eager to learn new words and new pronunciations. They go on repeating a new word for the sake of its sound. That is why we often hear them repeating nonsensical rhymes, and stories.

For children between two and four years of age, teaching of language must be oral. That means personal contact with the teacher, daily talks, stories, singing of nursery rhymes and conversation are necessary. If the teacher is conversant with the method, children learn a lot. A good foundation of the mother-tongue is laid at this age. Children in this sensitive period of their life are highly receptive. In the advanced age, when they are taught grammar in schools, a number of them find it difficult to understand it. But at this tender age, they learn all the difficult and different forms of genders, tenses, etc. Their power to store new words and fatten their vocabulary is also marvellous. Language is the most important medium of instruction and contact with the human world. The teaching of such an important subject requires practically no material, apparatus or teaching aids. What is needed is only the teacher with a desire to do her best and the knowledge of how to do it.

Our forefathers had found several ways to help the child to learn his mother-tongue. They composed several nursery rhymes, nursery games with rhymes, nursery stories and lullabies. Even the most ignorant have some such rhymes in their own dialect which help their children to learn the use of words and their meanings. Children go on asking questions and repeating the new words times without number and making the elders repeat them often.

We, in a Balwadi must adopt the same methods. It is not to be formal teaching of a language lesson with meanings of difficult words explained, paraphrases of poems and grammar. It must be just like the delightful time that children usually pass with their parents or more often with their grandparents, hearing stories, lullabies and songs. Their style and matter are almost ideally suited for the tiny tots. We must adopt these methods and specially make a study of their traditional stories and songs. We must preserve the rich literature of our past, and make a deep study of it and learn to enjoy the sweetness of the artistic and poetic folk-literature that was born out of the love, feelings and inspiration of mothers and grandmothers of the

past, who by instinct knew the type of literature suitable for a child.

In learning a language four things are to be aimed at:

(1) Correct articulation and pronunciation.
(2) Right words or phrases for objects, emotions and experiences.
(3) Grammatically correct use of the forms of words.
(4) Artistic and refined appreciation to enjoy the beauty of the literature.

In order to achieve these, the teacher must do the following things:

(1) CORRECT ARTICULATION AND PRONUNCIATION: Children when they come to a Balwadi, do talk a little; but most of them are lisping. There are several letters that they cannot pronounce and several words that they pronounce wrongly with interchanged letters. Very often children contract the habit of speaking rapidly without complete pronunciation of words. This is mostly due to their elders' defective speech or their own lack of proper hearing or lack of proper attention. Many children stammer and stutter. All these defects in speech must be corrected before they become a permanent habit.

For correcting the lisp of a child, constant repetition of the letters or words is the best way. The teacher should first find out what particular letters children find difficult to pronounce. There are usually some letters found difficult to pronounce by almost all the children; for instance 'R' is usually pronounced as 'L' by most infants. Difficulty in pronouncing a particular letter varies from child to child. Sometimes it is the difficulty, not only of the children but also of the elders or that of the whole community. So, first the teacher must listen to the children and make a note of their faulty pronunciation. Then she should begin a sort of a game of making children repeat what she said. She should say words having the letters that are generally found difficult to articulate; words like Tara-ra-ra, Far-ar-ara, Sar-ar-ara or Ashta, Kashta, Pashta, Rashta, etc. Sometimes simple repetition of a letter is also interesting like Tattattattatt,

Rarararara, Hiss-Hiss-Hiss-Hiss. Children find it very funny and suitable to their nature, for they like such repetitions. There is much fun in it. Children should never be made conscious of their inability to pronounce certain letters. They should be asked to look carefully at the mouth, lips and tongue of the teacher and to imitate her.

Many elderly people are in the habit of mimicking the lisp of a child just for fun and then laugh at their own joke. Children often feel humiliated by being laughed at. Then many parents by way of endearment, speak to the child in his lisping way. Of course the lisping pronunciation of the little one is very sweet to hear and one does feel like imitating the same while talking to him. But this should be avoided. For the best way of learning correct pronunciation is to hear correct sounds. So even if a child lisps, we should always speak with correct pronunciation.

So also we must be careful to pronounce the whole word and speak slowly. In a rapidly spoken sentence, the sounds of words get mixed up with each other, and the child does not understand when one word ends and the other begins. Balwadi teachers, especially, must practise to speak slowly and with clear separate pronunciation of each word. At first, it does sound artificial and therefore so awkward. But it is very important for children to learn proper articulation and know what the real word is.

(2) Singing of rhymes: There are nursery rhymes for infants in all languages. Children love to repeat these mostly nonsensical couplets. Although the words do not have much meaning or the meaning of one line has no connection with the meaning of the other, still the words usually have a music of their own. Lines like 'Dickory, Dickory Dock', or 'Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall', are loved and constantly repeated by infants just for this reason. Besides, the little meaning they suggest is funny and appealing to the children.

These rhymes are not only amusing but they help children in learning correct pronunciation of words. Children feel like repeating them often and often, thus the muscles of

their mouths and the tongues get used to move with ease. Tongue-twisters also have the same value of repetition with fun, facilitating the muscular movements.

These rhymes often have simple stories, sometimes little tragic stories of child life. No modern poet could have sung the sad plight of Jack and Jill in a more simple, straight yet forceful and poetic way than the famous nursery rhyme:

Jack and Jill went up the hill,
To fetch a pail of water,
Jack fell down and broke his crown
And Jill came tumbling after.

There are several sweet and poetic nursery rhymes in all Indian languages. We must learn them from our grandmothers and make a collection of them for introducing in our Balwadis. Some of these can even be acted. Some children can be Humpty Dumpties and enjoy having falls and some as Jacks and Jills, can go to fetch water and then face the tragic end and yet enjoy the whole story. Such simple acting helps to grasp the correct meaning vividly. Thus the nonsensical verses are a great aid in learning language in childhood.

(3) NURSERY SONGS OR BALGEETS: There are many good *balgeets* or nursery songs specially suitable for children to sing. The simple tunes of these songs make them popular with the children. Children do not have to learn them by heart with much effort as children in schools have to learn their poems. Of course very few poets can write real good poetry for children. Many of them try to make some easy, funny poems and they are often without much poetic value. Balwadi teachers must cultivate a taste for good poetry and always have a good selection of poems fit to be sung in a Balwadi.

(4) NURSERY GAME RHYMES: There are several nursery game rhymes along with which some actions or dancing movements are associated. These rhymes like nursery rhymes should also be repeated without actions, so that children can hear the words and their pronunciation properly and repeat them correctly. Along with actions very often they are not properly heard. So they should be treated as ordinary

nursery rhymes for sometime and then they can again be repeated with action games.

(5) NURSERY STORIES: The rhymes and the songs will facilitate the movements of the vocal organ, for children go on repeating them almost the whole day. Like repetition by mouth of words and rhymes, hearing the language is another way of learning it. Children are fond of listening to stories, which can go on for ten minutes or so at a time. Stories, by the very nature of their formation, are interesting to listen to for they contain all-absorbing and exciting incidents, usually poetically described, which hold childrens' attention spell-bound. Then there is another good point about them so far as language is concerned. Stories are usually full of conversations. Children are introduced to the language spoken by different layers of society. The story often contains clever repartees and prompt replies that suggest to the children how questions should be answered or arguments met. Story telling is thus a very effective means of language-teaching.

Story telling, like music, is an art which every Balwadi teacher must fully master. The first thing that a teacher must learn is to modulate her voice to fit the occasion she is describing. If there is fear to be depicted, she must lower her voice and have a little tremor in it. If it is anger, the voice must be loud and aggressive and so on. Emotions can also be expressed by facial expressions. This is an art that good actors have to cultivate. It is a very simple yet powerful vehicle of expression.

Right selection of the right type of stories for a certain age-group is very important. For children under three, small chain stories with rhymes are very suitable. Short and simple nursery stories are also interesting. Even nonsensical stories in rhymes can be told, only they must not be too long and too intricate. For children from three to five, chain stories with a plot and longer stories with simple incidents are suitable.

For children from five to seven, Aesop's fables, stories from Panchatantra and Hitopadesh and mythological stories related in simple language are very suitable.

For children above seven, simple historical stories and adventurous tales can be related. They like long stories that continue for days together. So stories from The Ramayan and The Mahabharat can be told at their level.

(6) CONVERSATION: Nursery rhymes, songs and stories help the development of language by mostly training the children's ears to listen and the vocal organs to repeat the words of songs and even those of stories. These processes help to enrich the vocabulary and power of expression. Still, direct conversation is necessary for the children to express their thoughts. There are hundred and one experiences, incidents and thoughts arising in the mind which need expression. Mutual talks, questions and answers and friendly conversation are necessary to encourage expression through language. Very often we have to supply the right word for their experiences. A child often sees a procession in the street and describes it as just 'dhumdhum', imitating the sound of the band. Then we can give him the right word for it—a marriage procession or *barat* or a *prabhat-feri* or a scout-rally and so on. Very often children wish to describe an event but lack the proper phrases. For instance, they wish to say that they had gone out to see the Vihar Lake or some such place. They do not know how to describe all the beautiful experiences they had. If we just suggest with our imagination what must have happened, they feel delighted. Thus there should be daily talks and conversation in a Balwadi for fifteen minutes at least. Children should be encouraged to ask questions, and answer those asked by others.

Then talks on pictures or a collection of things like flowers, fruits, seeds, or animals may be conducted when the whole class may take part in the talk.

These conversational lessons must be as informal and free as possible; for children must feel like speaking out. Very often they talk on irrelevant subjects. When we are talking about a flower in the flower-pot one of them suddenly remembers something else and says "My mother has prepared *laddus*", or "We are going to see a cinema", or "My aunt and her daughter *have* arrived yesterday". It only

means that a proper atmosphere for free talk has been created and therefore the child felt like telling the most important and most interesting event in his life. This should not be neglected or discouraged, but should be heartily responded to. It does not matter at all if other children begin talking about similar events in their lives.

A child must be given all the opportunities to master his mother tongue which is his chief means of communication with others. Words and language are the containers of knowledge. A child must have proper words to understand and remember his precious experiences. In short, it is extremely important to offer a proper opportunity to children to have mastery over the mother tongue.

Learning numbers

Children experience the world around them sensorially. Just when they are seeing forms and colours, hearing different sounds, smelling, testing and touching and thus experiencing the different properties of the things around, they also understand the difference between one and many. Before they come to a Balwadi, they usually know one and two. Some of them even show two fingers to denote two. They usually like to have more of everything, so very often their two means more than one. If other children are given two *chapatis* the youngest one must also have two. Plums or berries, children know, can be counted as one, two and so on. Even when the children do not know how to count serially they go on saying one, two, five, ten, fourteen, fifteen—just repeating the words heard from other children.

Just as children are introduced to colours, shapes, etc. in a Balwadi, they also should be introduced to counting serially. The best material ready at hand for counting is their own fingers. As there are ten fingers, so they can be taken to the second unit *i.e.*, that of ten easily. They can do five in no time as it is convenient to count fingers of one hand with the other. They can count each other's and teacher's fingers. Once they learn the words of the series from one to ten, a new vista is opened before them. They see so many things

in the house and outside that can be counted. They do not know the principle behind counting of similar things, but instinctively they count similar things. If there are four potatoes and four brinjals, children as a rule do not count them as eight but count potatoes and brinjals separately and say there are four potatoes and four brinjals.

This is counting in time. Really speaking, they are four ones. In order to get the idea of how much is two to one or three to two and one, they must see two, three as one mass. Dr. Montessori's idea of teaching children their first counting on the long stair with straps is very proper to give the idea of two or three not as two or three ones, but two and three. The rods denote the length of the number, one is one length, two is double the length of one and three treble the length of one and yet one is one piece, two is one piece and three is one piece; so that they are not so many ones, but they are one, two, three up to ten. The ten rod is ten times one. So they feel the difference between the numbers sensorially. This is a very simple material that anyone can make. It should therefore be used in Balwadis. Measured pieces of *bamboos* can serve as counting rods.

Children should be introduced to numbers as the steps of learning new names, separate words. This is one, this is two and this is three and so on and not by counting one, two, three, etc. They should take in the whole length of two, three, four, etc. After repeating the names with the rods, they should be able to correctly pick up rod one, rod two, etc., when asked to do so, that is, they must learn to recognise the rods by their names, just as they know children by their names, even if their order is changed. Just as Kamala, wherever she sits is Kamala, whether she is first, second or third, so two must be two and three, three, in whatever order they are placed. Then comes the third step. The teacher then should show them one of the three rods and ask them to name them as two, one, three as the case may be. This can go on till ten.

Many more games can be introduced in a Balwadi to make the serial counting of the children perfect.

CHAPTER 9

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN A BALWADI

Children under two are mostly individualistic. They can only think of what they want, and their way of getting it is to cry till they get the thing or till they are tired. Any thought or consideration for others, their convenience or rights, has not yet dawned on them. They of course, are happy when they see the people near and dear to them and love to fondle and be fondled by them. But there is practically no altruistic or social tendency seen in them in their infancy.

After the age of two, children can think of others around them. They feel to a certain extent sympathy for other people's hardships and feel like doing something to help them or to relieve their pain. So, we often come across a child trying to press the head, hands or feet of his mother or elder sister when she is ill. He often asks whether she has fever or if she feels better in a very affectionate manner.

After the age of two, children are fairly independent of the elders in walking, talking and eating. So they feel like going out of the house and looking around, seeing the outer world and knowing other people outside their home. They also feel like making friends and talking to strangers. They like to be friendly and have the company of other children. But it is often difficult for all of them to play together without any hitch. In the first place, each of them does not wish to part with his belongings, and at the same time has a keen desire to possess other's toys. If this desire of theirs is not satisfied, many of them get aggressive. They try to snatch away things through force by beating, scratching or even biting other children. If two children are of the same temperament, there is a jolly good fight till one of them is defeated. But if one of the party is timid or weak then he either runs away or asks the elders to intervene. In short, it is tussles of this kind which show the need of social education for children.

In a Balwadi, children of the same age play together with

things that almost all covet. This provides an opportunity for the teacher to show them how they can cooperate and play together without any quarrel.

First of all, children can be made to understand that the toys in a Balwadi do not belong to any one of them but to the institution, that is to all of them, and that they are free to play with anything they like, on the condition that after they have finished playing, they must keep the toys back in their original place.

Secondly, the teacher should see that if a child is playing with a toy, it is not snatched away from his hands by others. Other children, who want to play with the same toy or to do the same work must wait till the first child has finished and then take their turn.

Children must also be shown how they can play or work together, how work can be divided amongst themselves and how all of them can have their share. By standing in a line and passing buckets, all the children can help in watering the garden. Children can be divided into groups—the watering group, the seeding group, the digging group, the *safai* group and so on. Every group will have a leader. In short, children though young, can slowly be initiated into the civilised way of living and working together, without fighting or letting ill-feeling arise in the group. It is as a rule, very easy to inculcate these social behaviour patterns at this tender age for children in a way have a clean mind with no prejudices and bad habits. They have a strong desire to mix, be friendly and cooperate with one another. That helps them to control themselves. If one child does not follow the rules, all the others join together and make him observe the rules.

This is the right time to teach them the right attitude towards society and to cultivate in them good social habits. Children should not be allowed to disturb others who are working quietly. On the play ground they can of course play and laugh or sing loudly. But in the work room they must observe the rule of silence.

The *tiffin* or the lunch hour provides an ideal occasion for inculcating many social rules and right behaviour

Children love to play in soil. Here they are seen sieving earth

Assembling toy carts provides an engaging activity for the newcomers

Outdoor play : The Slide

patterns. In the first place, the children get an opportunity to divide the work regularly at lunch time. Some of them can manage the washing of hands and toilet. Others can clean and decorate the room, spread carpets, and get it ready for lunch. The third batch can distribute the eatables. They can serve them after children are seated or fill the bowls beforehand. The fourth batch can see to the cleaning of the room and bowls after lunch. In this way, nearly ten to twelve children can be in charge of the whole management of the tiffin room for a day or for a week. When the children belonging to the managing party realise how cooperation of their colleagues in observing rules helps them in managing the whole show, they in their turn help the next managing party by extending full cooperation. Usually at home and in public parties confusion prevails at the time of eating, for everybody is impatient to have what he wants and children shout 'give me', 'give me' when eatables are being served. Children should be told to observe some rules. First, they must wait patiently till the distributor comes near them and gives them their share. Then they should be asked to show by a sign whether they want it or not. They may cover the bowls with their hands if they do not want and let it be open if they want a particular eatable. If they want a little they may keep the bowl half open. Children who are distributing have to observe a great control over their desire to eat first. They have to wait till all get their tiffin and wait a little longer if something is left over and has to be distributed again. As for cooking, only the teacher should do the work near the *chulha*. Children can help her in several other ways.

Social manners can also be demonstrated in a Balwadi by way of games. There can be a game of saying 'Namaste' to a guest or to each other. Taking leave, offering drinking water to a guest, greeting, congratulating, thanking and several such things can be played as games and practised when an occasion arises. If it is someone's birthday, all can wish the child a happy birthday. If someone has brought tiffin for all, they can thank him individually or collectively. They can become hosts by turns.

CHAPTER 10

THE TIME TABLE

Unlike a primary school, a Balwadi does not have a fixed time table. Children are left to choose their activity and be at it as long as they like. It is a common sight in a Balwadi, that while some children are engaged in building activity, others are painting or decorating, a third group may be engaged in cutting vegetables and a child may be sliding on the board. Here there is no class-system but individual work. Therefore, we do not see all of them doing one kind of work and finishing it in the time prescribed. Children are growing from within and it is not possible for all of them to be ripe for a particular work or the stage of work at the same time. Their tastes differ, their speed of progress differs. The visual sense may be prominent in one child, sound or auditory sense in another and chromatic in the third, while some may have a keen tactile sense. Some may be more attached to drawing and some to music. Some may need more rest and so prefer to sit quietly under a tree and watch while others may be inclined to climb a tree, jump and run. So it is wise to let the children follow their inclination and to leave it to them to decide what they would like to do and how long. A time table is too restrictive. It tells them what they must do at a particular hour. This does not suit children of the pre-primary stage. In a Balwadi, children should be free of this kind of restriction. Those who are used to the methods of compulsion are afraid that if left to himself, the child will just be idle and do nothing. Experience shows this notion to be completely mistaken. Children bound by time tables are inclined to shirking studies and just be idle, while children who are free to choose put in strenuous and continuous work and their work is better both in quality and quantity for there is spontaneity and inspiration from within, and no force or compulsion from outside.

Of course, children often need guidance in selecting activities. Sometimes, they are inclined to take up some activity because other children do so. They soon find that it does not interest them and that they are not able to apply themselves to it. If a toy is freshly painted, all children like to have that toy. But those who are really interested in the work stick to it and others do not. The teacher has to guide and help the children in their choice.

Although there is no need of having a fixed time table in a Balwadi from hour to hour and fixed studies, there should be a general time table to regulate certain general and group activities. For instance, the first half hour must be devoted to personal cleanliness and general *safai* of the room and the compound. In villages, children usually move about barefooted, so washing and drying of the feet should be the first thing they should do in a Balwadi; sweeping, dusting and compound *safai* can come next. Then most of the girls and boys have to be guided in their personal toilet—cleaning of teeth, nose and hands, combing hair and washing of face etc. In some places, regular baths after the general *safai* are given. This is a very good activity in areas where there are no regular arrangements for the children to take baths at home.

After this *safai* hour, children may be given free time—two hours or so—for activities of their choice. Then for an hour or so group activities may be taken up, leaving those children free who have not finished their individual work. Whether or not to join the group activity may be left to their choice. Music, dancing, story telling, games or dramatics are some of the group activities.

Then there should be a fixed time for tiffin or lunch as the case may be and time for outdoor activities. If there is a shed in which outdoor work can be done during any hour of the day, it can be included in the free time. But if it is possible to be out of doors only before the sun goes down, then open air games, gardening and such things must be taken in the afternoon. There may be a general time table for a week. Some days may be reserved for long trips or excursions,

visits to each other's places, etc. This general time table also should not be followed very strictly. The Balwadi routine must be elastic to suit the needs of the children. The general time table is for the convenience of the children and not to bind and restrict them. The time table should be adjusted according to the needs of the children.

Best time for conducting a Balwadi

It is said that morning is the best time for school, for, both children and teachers are fresh and the atmosphere cool and refreshing. On the contrary, the afternoons after meals are most unsuitable for serious work, besides walking from home to the school soon after a full meal is undesirable and children feel sleepy and wish to lie down instead of applying themselves to work. This is true to a certain extent. But with the little ones one time is almost as good as the other. Children are as fresh in the afternoons as in the mornings. It is true, some of the tiny tots are in the habit of sleeping after midday meals. They can sleep in a Balwadi.

The general difficulty of the morning time is that in cities and towns where other people have to attend office or school at 10. 30 A.M. or 11 A.M. the little ones are allowed to sleep till seven or eight in the morning and in this time mother does her cooking and other morning work without disturbance. When the little ones get up mother has to look after their morning toilet and meals. But she can attend to their baths, clothing and meals afterwards. So mornings are not suitable for most of the parents living in cities and towns. In rural areas, parents usually go out for work both in the morning and in the evening. For them morning or afternoon is just the same as they have no time to attend to their children. In these areas, a Balwadi ought to be a *Balghar*, where children's toilet and meals are attended to.

If children come to a Balwadi as soon as they get up, they must have their toilet attended to, and have their morning milk, etc. in the Balwadi. They can be sent home by 12.30 P.M., when their parents return for their midday meal in which the children can join them. Then at 2 P.M. or so,

when parents go to work, children can return to the Balwadi and stay there till the evening. That is what they do in mill and factory Balwadis. In some places, mothers also go out for work and the elder daughter or son is left at home to look after the little ones and also to attend to household work. The elder sister or brother is usually of the primary school age. When that is the case, Balwadi and the primary school should have the same timings so as to make it easy for elder children to attend their school. In such cases, a creche attached to a Balwadi will be extremely helpful as the elder sister has usually two to three children to look after, one of them being below two years of age. So the time must be adjusted to suit the convenience of the parents and children.

Timings of a Balwadi should also be adjusted according to different seasons in different places. In rural areas, planting and harvesting are the busiest seasons when parents like to be relieved of the responsibility of looking after their little ones. A Balwadi should be open during these seasons when the parents are busy.

Primary schools in the rural areas are usually given a long vacation of a month or so in the rainy season which is a busy season for the farmers. But if a Balwadi and a creche are open at this busy time, it helps the parents. Thus the vacations also should be adjusted to suit the convenience of the local population.

CHAPTER 11

CHILD OBSERVATION

Balwadi is not a place to teach and learn lessons. It is a place where children grow, develop their powers and learn how to adjust to society. It is like a garden or a nursery of tender plants, where the *mali* has to see that every plant grows well and its progress is not arrested on account of some cause or the other. This is the teacher's main duty. In order to execute it properly she must learn to observe the child minutely; observe his emotional outbursts, his actions, his reactions to society, his moods, high and low, his normal and abnormal periods and so on. The *Gram Sevika* must have some knowledge of how and what to observe in a child to detect if anything is wrong with him. By practice she will know many more things about children.

First of all the *Sevika* must have a trained eye to see the healthy and normal look on the face of a child. Just as a doctor or an experienced mother at once knows from the face or the attitude of a child that something is wrong with him, so also the *Sevika* must be able to distinguish between a healthy and an unhealthy look of a child.

In children, the mind and the body are working concurrently. So the reason behind their uneasy feeling can either be physical, or mental or both. The *Sevika* must first be able to discern that all is not well with a child and then she must try to find out the reason and remedy it. Very often it is the incubatory period of some disease or a child is scolded, beaten or insulted at home and is, therefore, sulking. Sometimes his deep-rooted infantile fears have been aroused by something in the atmosphere, or he may be feeling helpless and unjustly treated or not being loved sufficiently. A child who truly or falsely feels that he is an unwanted and unloved one in the house, demands much more than what can reasonably be given by the *Sevika*. He is sometimes tyrannical and in a

punishing mood. Really speaking, all his wrath is against the ones who ill-treat him or are unjust to him, mostly the mother. But it is often projected against the *Sevika* for she represents the mother in a Balwadi. In such cases, a *Sevika* has to be very careful and thoughtful. In the first place, she must from the beginning be careful not to fondle anyone too much or let anyone get too much attached to her. She should not allow a sentimental love to grow between her and any of the Balwadi children. Though affectionate, kind and friendly, she must remain a *Sevika* and not a mother; she must be a little aloof and detached.

Then only she will be able to help the child by creating in him a feeling of security and love, and find out what is wrong and remedy the cause.

If she comes across a retarded or a psychologically difficult or problem child, she must at once consult a psychiatrist and get him treated. She must remember that her work is that of a first aider and not of a doctor.

Children's complexes are, as a rule, not very deeprooted, so the sympathetic and helpful attitude of the teacher and the free and healthy atmosphere of the busy Balwadi, without any fear of punishment and insults, are themselves enough to release the small emotional disturbances of children. Only the *Sevika* must be aware of these conditions of illness of the mind.

The *Sevika* must also be conversant with the different types of characters found amongst children. Some of them are aggressive by nature and often turn out to be bullies, while others are timid and shy and always on the defensive, ready to run away, to cry, to hide their face or even to attack in self-defence.

Some are seen to be born leaders. They know how they must protect some and lead others by winning their hearts and so on, while others seem to be born to follow. They always wear the look of 'Yours most obediently'.

Again some are very active, always doing something or the other and very often the activity turns out to be a wrong one or an undesired piece of work, but the doers are usually

not to blame because they do it with the best motive of being active as they could not remain inactive. There are others who are very sentimental and emotional, while some are thinkers and philosophical always saying wise things. Some are very social and always amidst a group of friends, while there are others who prefer to be by themselves and enjoy their own company and thoughts.

The *Sevika* cannot change the nature of children but she can help them retain their balance and not become misfits in society. She can help the aggressive ones to control their desire to attack, and coax the timid to be bold and to face difficult situations. She can control the bullies by making them realise that it is not proper to thrust one's will on others and create self-confidence and a desire to resist in the others. She can give opportunities to all to be leaders and the born leaders to be better leaders by being good followers. She can entrust a lot of work and activities to the active and let the emotional ones find their peace by following the inner urge of artistic and emotional creativity. In short, the *Sevika's* role as a psychological guide and friend in the moulding of the children's character is very important. In order to be a successful guide in this respect she must learn to observe children with a scientific attitude without any prejudices or pre-conceptions, not reading too much or too little in any incident.

The *Sevika* must also know the proper hygienic conditions necessary for good bodily growth of the children. She must also have a primary knowledge of children's diseases and hygiene.

In short, she must be able to distinguish between the activities of a child, healthy in body and mind and those of a child ill either bodily or mentally. Then only she can be a real help to the growing children.

CHAPTER 12

THE EXPENDITURE

The expenditure to be incurred on a particular Balwadi is a knotty point which is a headache of many an organiser. A Balwadi is usually considered to be an expensive thing which our poor villages cannot afford.

There are some All-India and some Provincial agencies which run Balwadis. Even they find it difficult to meet the expenses. So they try to minimise the expenses as much as possible, the result being, that in many cases untrained teachers with nominal remuneration are employed and practically no equipment is provided.

In cities and in big towns, Balmandirs are found to grow rapidly. The city-parents for various reasons find them a necessity and willingly pay fees from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 12/- per month or even more for Balmandirs. Balmandirs with one rupee and eight annas as monthly fees are also cropping up. They are just a class of 25 children conducted in a small gallery or veranda or in the sitting room; and the activity provided is teaching of alphabets and numbers. So these institutions are, in fact, tutorial coaching classes like the former infant class which has now been abolished. It is a misnomer to call them Balmandirs.

Many *Mahila Mandals* and *Bhagini Samajas* are conducting Balmandirs quite efficiently with low fees. They collect funds to meet the expenses, but are careful not to lower the standard. That is very praiseworthy.

In smaller towns and villages it is not possible to charge fees; but there are some in towns who can donate some amounts towards the Balwadi expenses. Small towns should conduct a Balwadi as they conduct public libraries. At least half the expenses should be borne by the town people, one fourth by the Government or the Local Boards and one fourth should be collected as donations by the *Mahila Mandals*.

It is possible to have Balwadis in small towns only in this way.

In smaller villages, especially those of backward classes, the villagers are not in a position to share any of the expenses. There the Government and the Local Boards or other institutions must bear the whole expense and must spend a good bit in supplementing the food of children attending a Balwadi. Parents may be asked to share the food expenses in kind and the rest should be borne by charitable institutions like the Red Cross or National Child Welfare Organisations.

Taking into consideration the difficulty of meeting the expenses, we can have three types of Balwadis in the rural areas.

The cheapest or the smallest should be the Angan Balwadi. This can be opened in a very small village or on the outskirts of a town or in the poor localities of a city.

I. *The Angan Balwadi*

Children about 25/30.	Duration 1 /3 hours.
Initial equipment	Rs. 100/-

Recurring expenses :

A Part time teacher P.P.T.C. : Rs. 35×12	Rs. 420/-
A helper : Rs. 5×12	Rs. 60/-
Contingencies, health, craft and occasional tiffin : Rs. 10×12 ..	Rs. 120/-
	Rs. 600/- per year

As a rule, the teacher should be engaged whole time and given the work of conducting two Angan Balwadis or she can run a Balwadi for three hours and for the remaining time she can be entrusted with teaching craft work to women of the locality or some such other social welfare activity. If by chance some teacher is available who wants to do only part time work for two to three hours only, part time payment will do. In towns and cities it is possible to come across part time teachers.

II. *The full-time Balwadi in a town*

Children about 50. Time 4 hours.

Initial Equipment	Rs. 500/-
Recurring expenses :	
Staff : A trained teacher P.P.T.C :	
Rs. 75×12	Rs. 900/-
A helping teacher B.A.P : Rs. 50×12 ..	Rs. 600/-
A helper : Rs. 5×12	Rs. 60/-
House rent : Rs. 10×12	Rs. 120/-
Contingency, health, and crafts. :	
Rs. 5×12	Rs. 60/-
Tiffin	Rs. 260/-
	Rs.2,000/- per year.

For tiffin, the parents should be asked to contribute in cash or kind. Children of the poor should be given free tiffin.

III. *A fully equipped Balwadi which can serve as a practising school for Gram Sevikas' training class.*

It must be situated in a small village.

Children about 50 Time 4 hours.

Initial Equipment	Rs.1,000/-
A house	Rs.1,000/-
Recurring Expenses :	
Staff : Two trained teachers P.P.T.C :	
Rs. 150×12	Rs.1,800/-
One helper. : Rs. 25×12 ..	Rs. 300/-
Contingency, crafts and health :	
Rs. 10×12	Rs. 120/-
Tiffin	Rs. 280/-
	Rs.2,500/- per year.

A practising school must be fully equipped from the Balwadi point of view and must have a proper house, which is rather difficult to have in a village. So a cottage costing about Rs. 1000/- should be built. Both the teachers should be fully trained and the helper also should be a full-time worker.

Ex. ~~101~~

Ex 99

AWARENESS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN VILLAGE INDIA

PRELIMINARY REPORT

LALIT K. SEN
and
PRODIPTO ROY

Ex. 101.

AWARENESS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN VILLAGE INDIA

PRELIMINARY REPORT

LALIT K. SEN
and
PRODIPTO ROY

Published by
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
Hyderabad-30.

Printed at
SWAARAJYA PRINTING WORKS
Padmanagar, Secunderabad-25.

PRICE RS. 2

PREFACE

The research project reported in the following pages was undertaken in early 1965 at the request of the Ministry of Community Development. Various official and non-official agencies have evaluated the impact of the community development programme in terms of the targets set by the community development administration at various levels. We have, thanks to these agencies, a large amount of data showing the degree of effectiveness of the official machinery in achieving these targets. On a national scale, we have had no data until now, on how the common villager in India reacted to this programme.

The basic objective of the community development programme has been to generate community participation to solve the problems of our village societies. To what extent has this been achieved? How many people are really aware of the colossal national effort to modernize the whole range of our rural life? How many have taken advantage of this effort? Who are the people influenced most by these efforts? What progress have our villages made in communication facilities and institutional development? Has the panchayati raj taken roots in the political consciousness of the common villager?

The research project on the "Awareness of Community Development in Village India" has sought to answer some of these questions on a national scale. Three hundred and sixty-five villages were chosen at random from all the sixteen States of the Union for this study. The total number of respondents chosen at random from the voters' list in these villages was 7,224. The respondents and their villages were so drawn that they constituted a modified probability sample of the whole nation.

It can be realized that full data processing and analysis of this ambitious project will take time. Only a digital computer can cope with the mass of data that have been collected during the survey. Several staff members of the National Institute of Community

Development and the Computer Centre of Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission are now engaged in translating the words of the common villager into the language of the computer. About 1,00,000 IBM cards have been punched and verified. We are now in the process of preparing the instructions for computer analysis. Once this data processing is done, a probing analysis of the process of modernization in India can be made. A full report on this is expected to be ready in the middle of next year.

In the meanwhile, it was thought desirable to prepare a short preliminary report on this study based on simple frequency counts and percentages. Several important items were hand-tabulated for this purpose. The present report is based on these hand-tabulated data. This is a descriptive analysis of the villager's knowledge of the community development programme and the level of modernization which obtains today in our villages. This report does not claim to be a sophisticated analysis and does not aim to establish causal relationships between the programme and the level of modernization. Even so, our administrators and policy makers will find this report useful as it presents a national picture of the trends and direction of social change in our villages.

The study was initiated by Dr Prodipto Roy and Dr Satish Arora of the National Institute of Community Development, Dr Arora being in over-all supervision of the project. Since July, 1966, when Dr Arora left for the United States. Dr Lalit Sen, also of the National Institute of Community Development, has been directing the data analysis phase of the project. He is mainly responsible for bringing out this preliminary report with collaboration from Dr Roy.

The basic research design and the questionnaire were framed by a group consisting of Dr Arora, Dr Roy, Dr Charles P. Loomis and Shri T. R. Satischandran with assistance from Dr Nityananda Patnaik and Dr V.R. Gaikwad. Shri Satischandran was the vice-principal of the Institute at the time of the survey.

Dr Loomis, Research Professor of Sociology at Michigan State University came to the Institute as a Ford Foundation Consultant at the time of the survey and has generously shared with our

staff members his time and expertise in finalizing the research design. His paper on "Change in Rural India as related to Social Power and Sex of Adults" read at the Rural Sociological meetings at Miami, Florida, this summer, was based on some of the same data that have been used in the present report. Dr Loomis' paper was the first report on this study. Our thanks are due to Dr Loomis for his help and advice.

It required the joint effort of a number of hard-working men and women to bring the survey, the coding and the hand-tabulation to a successful completion. The field interviewing was done by the instructors of the various training centres for community development workers in different parts of India. Our thanks are due to them and to the principals of these centres for releasing them for three months for this survey. The coding was done at the National Institute in Hyderabad by temporary investigators who learned the techniques quickly and finished their work expeditiously. The supervision of coding for this study was entrusted to Dr Nityananda Patnaik, who has very ably performed this extremely demanding task with assistance from Mandakini Khandekar. The hand-tabulation of about 150 items was also done at the Institute by our permanent and temporary investigators. The names of interviewers, coders and tabulators appear in Appendix I of this report. Our thanks are due to all these people who worked so hard during the past year and a half.

George Jacob
Dean

National Institute of
Community Development,
Rajendranagar, Hyderabad-30
October 25, 1966

CONTENTS

		Preface	i
CHAPTER	I	Introduction	1
	II	Method of Study	8
	III	Awareness of Community Development Programme	18
	IV	Awareness and Adoption of Improved Practices in Agriculture and Health	24
	V	Communications	29
	VI	Institutional Development ...	35
	VII	The Emerging Leadership ...	42
	VIII	Modernization in Village India ...	49
APPENDIX	I	Participants in the Study ...	56
	II	Districts, Blocks and Villages selected for Study	59

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1	Have you heard about the community development programme?	18
2	Do you know the village level worker? ...	20
3	During the past year how often have you spoken with the block functionaries? ...	20
4	Adoption of improved agricultural practices ...	25
5	Awareness and adoption of improved practices in health	27
6	Do you approve or disapprove of family planning?	28
7	Percentage of villages located at various distances from the nearest means of communication	30
8	Percentage of villagers at various points of the urban influence scale	31
9	Newspaper reading, radio listening and movie going	32
10	Frequency of radio listening	33
11	Percentages of villages located at various distances from the nearest primary school, co-operative society, etc.	37
12	Did you vote in the last panchayati and national elections?	39
13	Do you prefer unanimous or contested elections?	40
14	Social characteristics of leaders, males and females	43
15	Which kind of leader do you prefer most? ...	44
16	Percentages of respondents who spoke quite often (more than 10 times) with block functionaries	45
17	Percentages of respondents at various score points on the urban influence scale ...	45
18	Percentage of respondents who adopted improved agricultural and health practices ...	46
19	Percentages of respondents at various scoring points on the sacred–secular continuum ...	47

I

INTRODUCTION

Origins of the Study

This study was stimulated by a request from the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation to determine the impact of community development programme in terms of its *awareness* among the masses. The National Institute of Community Development (NICD), at the same time, was considering a study of national scope to determine the broad dimensions of modernization in Indian villages, which the community development programme had helped to bring about, in terms of economic (mainly agricultural), social, political and psychological changes. The study was to include the image rural people had of the community development programme and their contact with the development agency. A broad study was visualized because community development is a multi-pronged programme. It is based on the thesis that in order to bring about improvements in any one aspect of village life, like agriculture, the other aspects of life which are interlinked like education, health, cottage industries, raising of aspirations, self-reliance, secularization, democracy and the building of basic institutions, co-operatives, markets and communications would, of necessity, have to be developed simultaneously. Hence, any appraisal of the impact of the community development programme would first need to test whether this wide ranging development had taken place and then to examine the inter-relationship between the different aspects of development and finally to attempt to isolate the cause and effect.

At the outset, it was agreed that many forces had gone into modernizing Indian villages and the benefits accruing from the community development programme *per se* could only be determined by careful correlation analysis and isolation of independent

factors. In fact, one of the major purposes of the study was to determine empirically what village development is and to set down mathematically the major factors that contribute to development and thereby construct a parsimonious measure of village modernization; then to relate this measure to the degree of contact with the community development agency and thus determine its contribution to village development.

In short, it seemed most expedient that if a survey on a national scale was to be undertaken to determine the *awareness* of people of the community development programme, this second broader theoretical study should be undertaken simultaneously so as to minimise costs. The combining of a problem-oriented study with a more theoretically-oriented study resulted in a very comprehensive survey, extensive and intensive in scope and, therefore, suffered from a number of limitations. Except for Lerner's study in the Middle East[1], Frey's study in Turkey[2] and Michigan State University's collaboration with the Five-Nation Survey[3], a broad survey of this nature on the rural population of a developing nation had seldom been attempted. In India, the only precedents were the Rural Credit Surveys[4], the NCAER's Rural Savings Survey[5], certain studies of the National Sample Survey[6] and the studies undertaken by the Pro-

---

[1]Lerner, Daniel and L.W. Pevsner, *Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, New York; Free Press, 1963.

[2]Frey, F.W. "Surveying present attitudes in Turkey", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 27 (1963), pages 335-355.

[3]Loomis' Charles P. and Prodipto Roy, "The Place of India in the minds of the people of Mexico and the USA", *Monthly Commentary on Indian Economic Conditions*, Vol. VI, No. 6 (1965); Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba, *Civic Culture: Social Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, MSU, 1963.

[4]*All India Rural Credit Survey*, Reserve Bank of India, Central office, Mint Road, Bombay-56; Rural Credit Fallow-up Surveys of 1956-57, 1958-59; and 1959-60.

[5]*All India Rural Household Savings Survey*, 1962, Vol. I Methodology: National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, August, 1964.

[6]*National Sample Survey, General Report No. 1 on the First Round*, October, 1950-March 1951: Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, December, 1952. See also National Sample Survey Reports Nos. 2 to 83.

gramme Evaluation Organization. This study was, therefore, by nature exploratory in terms of methodology, extensiveness and intensiveness of content, size of sample, speed of data gathering and IBM machine processing and was, therefore, from the outset fraught with all kinds of scientific dangers into which most angels would fear to tread.

This preliminary report presents only the findings based on items which have been selected *a priori* and hand-tabulated. Subsequent reports will be prepared from the *ex post facto* selection of items from runs of all IBM cards such that the most reliable single items or indexes will portray the results more completely. Further, the inter-correlation of items and variables will enable us to test the major hypotheses of the study.

Theoretical Background and Objectives

The successive evaluations made annually by the Programme Evaluation Organization from 1954 to 1961[7] have given a continuing appraisal of the broad aspects of CD projects and also specific reports on the working of a few particular programmes. In the first report of May 1954 it was stated that "the community projects and the national extension service have been promoted to accomplish four ends: (a) progressive outlook among the rural population, (b) habits of co-operative action, (c) increased production, and (d) increased employment"[8].

Over the years, the philosophy and policy of community development have evolved and changed. They have been stated in several conferences of Development Commissioners and Ministers of Community Development held annually. In a seminar held at the National Institute of Community Development in October 1966 these objectives were reiterated. Broadly speaking, the community

[7] *Evaluation Report of First Year's Working of Community Development*, Planning Commission, Programmes Evaluation Organization, New Delhi, May, 1954; *Evaluation Report*, April 1955; *Evaluation Report*, April 1956; *Fourth Evaluation Report*, April and May, 1957; *Fifth Evaluation Report*, May 1958; *Sixth Evaluation Report*, June 1959; *Seventh Evaluation Report on Community Developmen and some Allied Fields*, 1960; and a *Summary of Evaluation Studies*, 1960–61.

[8] *Op. cit. Evaluation Report of First Year's Working of Community Development*, p. 45, May 1954.

development programme has attempted to fulfil three basic objectives: (1) to promote a civic sense, a progressive outlook, mutual self-help and self-reliance and a general tenor of discontent with things as they are; (2) an integrated pattern of development in which economic development and the development of social infra-structures were complementary and supplementary; and (3) a progressive participation of people in their own development.

The community development programme has moved forward with constantly changing emphases. It started with creating great enthusiasm as a multi-purpose development programme, coordinating the development administration. A need for greater emphasis of peoples' participation was felt after five or six years and panchayati raj was initiated. Under these phases, welfare activities and the building up of social and economic infra-structures took place. Today the pendulum is swinging towards placing more emphasis on agricultural production and heavier economic input orientation.

The broad hypotheses guiding this study were concerned with appraising some of the explicit and implicit aims and objectives of the entire community development movement. The study, therefore, attempted to map the psychological, economic, social and political changes and the inter-relationship between them.

More specifically, the theoretical framework of analysis hypothesized that the programme had brought about changes in the desires and the needs of the people, a secularization of beliefs, a faith in people and democracy, a sense of self-reliance and a feeling that progress was being made individually and nationally. These psychological changes and the creation of needs (if not already felt) or creating discontent would raise the standards of life and levels of expectation of rural people. It was hypothesized that this was a necessary condition for development.

The socio-economic aspects of development have an input component in terms of innovations like fertilizers, improved seeds, irrigation and an output component in terms of production. The social and economic infra-structure comprise the education programme, the health programme, building of roads, encouragement of marketing, development of multipurpose co-operatives and attain-

ment of minimal standards of drinking water, sanitation, health and housing. Political participation consists of voting behaviour in panchayati and national elections, making decisions on local development programmes and contributing to the construction of schools, community halls, etc. It was hypothesized that these facets of development would be related to each other and that an index of items contributing to a single factor or two or three factors termed "village modernization" could be constructed.

It is difficult to assign any causal relationship between development and the community development programme or organization. By its nature, the programme only coordinated different departments in different States and was, since its inception, only a catalyst or an enabler or a method and process of development. Notwithstanding, it was hypothesized that there would be relatively higher degrees of development in the older blocks and the degree of contact with community development workers would be positively associated with the other measures of development.

Objectives and Scope

The specific objectives of the study were stated simply in a letter to all the Collectors of districts in which the study was undertaken. For this report these objectives may be restated thus: (1) to assess what changes have taken place in the villages since independence especially in the fields of agriculture, health and education; (2) to appraise the extent of contact of village people with the community development workers; (3) to determine the development of various social agencies, institutions and communications which have helped to change the village people.

The Report

In this report, items pertaining to the general *awareness* of the rural people of the various aspects of the community development programme have been investigated. The extent to which this *awareness* has led to specific action on the part of the individual has also been recorded. Another area of study which has been explored was the development of communications and institutions. This development is the accumulative product of the various forces toward modernization. Similarly, a change in the leadership

pattern leading towards progressive leadership has been an avowed goal of the community development programme. A cross-section of the present village leadership has, therefore, been described in this report without trying to determine the effects of community development on the development of leadership.

As in any scientific venture the findings of this study are subject to certain limitations.

1. This report is based on marginal hand-counts pertaining to an *a priori* selection of items which present only a part of the whole study. Since the items used were not always accompanied by supporting complementary data the report is not as conclusive as it could be if based on complete tabulations.

2. Large survey reliability and quality of data gathering at best, leave much to be desired and may, therefore, always be viewed with some suspicion. The importance of cross-checking items with complementary items which support and lend confidence to the data which are therefore very useful, are somewhat lacking in this report. It is hoped that broader indices comprising several items will provide this type of confidence in the results, when the complete tabulations are available.

3. Except for a few villages from Nagaland, for which the interviews were rejected, no screening of items has been done. The quality of data from different States is varied and hence only fairly basic items with objective referents have been selected for this report.

4. The inter-correlation of items and variables (and thereby the testing of the major hypotheses) which would have given better integration to this report have not yet been computed; thus only associational inferences were made. This report, therefore, does not bring together the many facets of the development programme and test the integrated pattern of development.

Chapter I of this report gives a historical account of the creation of this study along with the theoretical background and objectives. Chapter II describes the sampling design, the method of

execution and processing of data. Chapter III summarizes the findings on the rural people's *awareness* of the community development programme and their knowledge of the various agencies influencing the change. Chapter IV deals with the adoption of specific innovations in agriculture, health and family planning. Chapters V and VI describe the level of development of communication facilities and various institutions in the village. Chapter VII is an analysis of the leadership pattern as it obtains today in our villages. Chapter VIII is a general analysis of the process of modernization in Indian villages based on the findings presented in the earlier chapters.

II

METHOD OF STUDY

Sample

In order to achieve the objectives stated earlier, a study with an all-India coverage was undertaken. The sample was conceptually designed primarily to get a picture of the whole of India. In order to obtain a reasonable representation of all geographic areas and all States, a minimum number of respondents from at least two representative districts of each State in which community development programme has been in operation was taken. Nagaland and Jammu & Kashmir were also included. Since the role of women in the community development programmes is unique, they were specifically categorized in the sample in order to determine their knowledge about, participation in, and contribution to the development process. Finally, the community development programmes are operating on the assumption of a two-step flow of information and the main thrust has often been to village influentials, leaving to them the slow task of persuading the tradition-bound people to adopt new ways of life. In order to test this two-step flow, leaders of each village were sociometrically selected for study.

The unit of sampling was basically *the village* with a constant take of 20 respondents — four leaders and 16 randomly selected men and women from the voters list. The selection of each village was done by a two-stage random method: first, three blocks from each selected district—one from stage I, one from stage II and one from post-stage II (stage III)—were taken to ensure the representation of the period during which community development has been in operation; secondly, villages within each block were divided into three categories of accessibility in terms of communication and one village from each category was selected at random. In this way, within each district, every village was given a roughly equal chance of being selected. In

short, the random design for selecting nine villages in each district was a 3 × 3 pattern depicted below :

Years of CD operation →

Level of Communication ↑	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
Good	V_1	V_2	V_3
Average	V_4	V_5	V_6
Poor	V_7	V_8	V_9

(*a*) *Selection of districts* : The number of districts selected in each State was determined roughly in proportion to the size of the population of the State. A minimum of at least two districts were selected in each State which were both regionally and socially representative of the State. The *package* district was selected in eight States in order to study the results of its operation compared with other districts of the State. Unfortunately, however, this district had to be *balanced* with a normal or poorer district to get a representative picture of the State—thereby partially defeating the possibility of assessing fairly the package programme with a comparable non-package district in the same State. Thus a geographically and socially representative area was purposefully selected using districts as units.

A series of trials using a group of two to four districts to represent each State was statistically tested against the total population of the State on the following criteria: the percentage of literate population, scheduled caste population, scheduled tribe population, agricultural population and agricultural labour population to see if the group of districts was similar to the State as a whole. In this manner, a purposeful selection of two, three, or more districts representing the State was made. In seven States—Assam, Gujarat,

Kerala, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, and Jammu & Kashmir—two districts represent the State; in eight States—Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Rajasthan and West Bengal—three districts represent the State and in U.P. five districts were selected to represent the State (*See* map after appendix II).

(*b*) *Selection of blocks :* In each of the selected districts, one stage I block (started on or after the 1st April 1960), one stage II block (started on or after the 1st April 1955 and before the 1st April 1960) and one stage III block (started prior to the 1st April 1955) were selected at random from each respective category. Since an up to-date list of blocks, stage-wise, was not available at the NICD, the selection of block was done for the Institute by the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation.

In some cases, blocks had to be reselected by the team leader in the field because it was discovered, after arriving at the district, that the stage of the block had been incorrectly noted. The reselection was done in the same manner as by the Ministry: all blocks in that particular stage were listed and one was selected at random from a table of random numbers.

(*c*) *Selection of villages :* The selection of villages was done according to instructions set down during the training of interviewers. A list of villages in each block was usually available along with the population according to the 1961 census. All villages with a population of less than 200 or more than 5,000 were excluded from the list (the exclusion from the upper limit was ignored for Kerala because a large proportion of Kerala's rural population lives in such "villages" of scattered homesteads). For each of the eligible villages, a communication score was computed based on one point for each of following criteria : (1) within one mile of a *pucca* road ; (2) existence of VLW headquarters in the village; (3) existence of panchayati headquarters in the village; (4) health sub-centre within one mile of the village; (5) post office within one mile of the village; (6) within three miles of the block headquarters; (7) availability of at least one daily newspaper in the village; (8) at least one working radio in the village; and (9) within ten miles of a town of over 10,000.

Thus, each village in the eligible list was assigned a communication score from 0–9 and the villages were rearrayed, according to the communication score, from the highest to the lowest. This list was then divided into three parts, as nearly equal as possible. Each part represented villages in that block which were relatively good, average or poor in accessibility or communications. It has often been stated that the community development programme only reached as far as the block jeep. In order to test this assertion or, more important, to ascertain how the interior villages fared compared with the more accessible ones, this technique was adopted. Thus each village in the block had roughly an equal chance of being selected.

(*d*) *Selection of respondents :* A constant sample of 20 respondents was taken from each village, consisting of a random selection of 16 respondents from the voters list and a sociometrically selected group of four leaders. The following procedure was adopted to select the random sample of 16 respondents: the electoral roll consisting of all adults in the village, both male and female, was used, if available. If the electoral roll was not available, a list of all adults above 21 years of age was made by the interviewer.

The total number of voters was then divided by 16 and if the quotient was not a whole number the next lowest integer or round number was used as a divisor. Then, starting at any point at random between one and the divisor, every n^{th} person according to the equal interval of the divisor was checked from the voters list as a respondent.

Appointments were made for all respondents who were present and those who would return while the interviewing team was in the village. Interviewers were requested to make four call-backs to obtain an interview. Substitution was made by taking the next name in the electoral roll.

The selection of the four leaders was made in the following manner. The *elected* president or chairman of the statutory village panchayat was selected. If the president was not a resident of the village, the vice-president or the ward member or most influential

ward member, if there was more than one residing in the village, was selected. Then from three questions in the interview schedule used with the random sample, nominations were obtained for the person with *the highest prestige*, *the best farmer*, and *the best organizer* in the village. A sociometric score was computed by assigning a score of two for a first choice and one for a second choice to each person named by the 16 respondents. The total score was then summed up for each person named and for each type of leader, and a ranking, based on the sociometric choice score, was computed. The person with the highest score for prestige leader, agricultural leader, and organizational leader was then selected for interview.

However, certain problems of overlapping occurred, and rules for substitution had to be made: (1) a leader may already have been interviewed as one in the random sample in which case the next name on the electoral roll was substituted to complete the random sample; (2) the elected leader may also have been chosen as one or the other of the sociometrically selected leaders, in which case the person with the next highest score on the sociometric ranking was selected for interview.

Schedule Construction

Two schedules – one collecting data about the village and the other about individual respondents – were constructed to elicit information on the above hypotheses. A pretest was conducted in two villages in each of the 12 States. A careful analysis of the pretest results was done by the project leaders for all questions before the schedule was finalised.

The schedule was still, basically, an exploratory instrument far more inclusive than exclusive. The survey provided an experiment in methodology not only in the size and method of execution but also in the extensiveness and intensiveness of questions which could be asked by a survey team. Further, it was an experiment of an instrument which would be translated into the languages used in 16 States, in addition to three languages in Nagaland and two in Jammu & Kashmir. Further, the same instrument was being used for men and women and for relatively advanced leaders and backward village people. Hence, it was not expected that results from all items would be usable. The schedule included a core of questions

with simple, denotative, objective referents covering the above hypotheses plus many more items of an exploratory nature. These additional items would yield complementary data on the same variables and be useful pretests of items which would be possible and probable for future research.

The schedules, in this sense, not only provided the answers for the minimal objectives of the study but attempted to push back the frontiers of fundamental knowledge both in terms of content and methodology.

Interviewer Selection and Training

One of the scarce resources for a large survey of this type is proper interviewers, supervision of field work and providing logistic support. The NICD provides academic and research guidance for 22 training centres located in all but three or four States of India. The training centres are, however, under the administrative control of the Ministry.

Letters were addressed both by the Ministry and the NICD to the principals and directors of the training centres and their active co-operation was solicited. As was done in 1963[9] and 1964[10] for two previous national surveys conducted with the help of the training centres, it was decided to use a break period for the data collection.

Since linguistic competence was of primary importance and the centres cover three to four States, the linguistic competence of each instructor was ascertained. In addition, since women were to be interviewed in each State, at least one woman interviewer was needed for each team. Hence teams for each State were set up consisting of two to three interviewers (five for Uttar Pradesh) who were competent in the language of the State with at least one woman interviewer.

In spite of several requests, in some States the teams fell short primarily of women interviewers; in Nagaland and Jammu & Kashmir

[9] *Perceptions of National Emergency in Village India*, National Institute of Community Development, Mussoorie, April, 1963.

[10] *Village Volunteer Force and Defence Labour Bank*, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1964.

no competent interviewers to collect data were available from the centres. Supplementary interviewers, therefore, had to be recruited. The principals of the training centres helped in the selection of some interviewers; but for Assam, Nagaland, and Jammu & Kashmir the directors of the project had to go, select and train the interviewers.

The teams having been selected were brought to two centres for training – one being conducted by the Instruction Wing at Rajpur and the other, a bigger one conducted at the NICD in Hyderabad. The training session at Rajpur was appended to a regular course in research methods being conducted there and the latter was a longer ten-day session at which the actual finalised schedules were utilized.

After the training, the teams—consisting of one man and one woman or one woman and two men (in U. P. two men and three women)—were sent into the field with an adequate supply of schedules. The bisexual composition of the teams in rural areas was in itself an innovation in field work, but no adverse reports were received.

Field Work

Field work was started in the middle of April 1965 and completed by the end of July in all States except Jammu & Kashmir and Nagaland. Only a minimum of supervision was done by the NICD staff. Two of the directors went to Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland, and Assam to recruit and train interviewers; a second trip became necessary later for the same purpose in these three States. Two of the deputy directors visited the southern and western state teams to observe the field work.

Since instructors are under the administrative control of their principals or directors, the lines of command, motivation of interviewers, their supervision and control were not completely satisfactory. A fairly ambitious time schedule was set up and some enthusiastic teams were putting in 10 to 14 hours per day. Complaints were received about the short time "allotted" but in general the "top priority" pace of work was functional in keeping up a sense of urgency necessary to get the job completed before interviewer "fatigue" set in.

From the experience of previous studies, it was felt that there was some virtue, in terms of costs of logistics, mutual aid, social control and camaraderie, in keeping the teams intact. The strategy was to move into a village and complete all interviews of both men and women and leaders and then move to the next village. In this way a block was completed in eight to twelve days and the district in three to four weeks.

The official nature of such a study often presents a problem. The NICD and the training centres, at the time the study was undertaken, were part of the Government of India and, therefore, were identified not only as research institutions but also as part of the CD action agency. Complete objectivity under such circumstances would neither be honest nor desirable. On account of the Government affiliation, logistic support in terms of vehicles, locating the villages and contact with village people was obtained by their writing to the block officials and collectors of the districts concerned. This co-operation was given quite readily and in some cases to an embarrassing degree, when not only villages were selected but enlightened respondents were "prepared". The NICD, on account of its training programmes has forged sympathetic and functional links with block officials and collectors without whose assistance such a large survey could not have been conducted so smoothly and economically.

A review of village reports from ten States, comprising 216 of the 235 villages covered, was made to ascertain difficulties reported. In general, over 90 per cent of the reports made no reference to difficulties. The most common difficulty reported was "cultivation under way" and that respondents were busy; this was reported in one or two per cent of villages which caused considerable difficulty and in another 12 per cent, it caused some difficulty. The second most common cause of difficulty reported was reluctance or unwillingness of respondents to be interviewed; this was reported in about eight per cent of the villages. The third most frequently reported difficulty was the physical problem of getting to villages which caused hardship in six or seven per cent of the villages covered : considering that one-third of the sample comprise of villages with "poor" communications, only this amount of hardship reported may be considerd quite encouraging. Language proved to be a problem in six to seven per cent of the villages in spite of having interviewers from the State; in

the tribal areas, particularly of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Assam, a knowledge of the tribal language was necessary. Finally, the absence of respondents due to festivals, marriages, or urban commuting, casued some difficulty in five to six per cent of the villages.

Quite often it is stated that in the village the presence of others at the interview causes a great problem. Only in three to four per cent of the reports was this mentioned as a problem and in ess than one per cent, the presence of block officials was reported as causing difficulty. Although others might have been present they seemed to have posed no problem in obtaining the data desired.

For the village information schedule the position varied a great deal from State to State with respect to obtaining complete records and reports. In Mysore, over half the records were reported as not available and in Gujarat, difficulty was experienced in fifteen per cent of the villages. This, however, can be attributed at least partially to the interviewers not being able to obtain the relevant records.

Coding and Tabulation

In all, completed schedules from 7,224 persons in 365 villages were received. Of these, 1,414 were of leaders and the rest comprised of a random sample of 3,375 men and 2,435 women.

All the questionnaires were sent back to the NICD in self-addressed registered packets as each village was completed. This kept the headquarters posted with the progress in each State and letters or instructions reporting problems were taken care of either by correspondence with the field-team or with the principal of the coordinating centre. As the returns came in, they were systematically filed and prepared for tabulation.

The coding began in July 1965 with eight to ten coders under the supervision of one of the deputy directors and one research officer under the overall guidance of the directors of the project land was completed only by about February 1966. The punching and verifying wad sone by the IBM Corporation at New Delhi where

they felt they had the maximum of machine time available. These operations took from January 1966 to May 1966, to complete.

A great deal of difficulty was experienced in obtaining programmers and machine time to undertake the tabulation of this study and, therefore, in order to obtain some results from the study, a certain number of items from various parts of the study have been selected and hand-tabulations made directly from the code-sheets. This has been a rather tedious and time-consuming process needing a great deal of checking and rechecking.

The complete findings of this multidimensional research project, therefore, have not been presented in this preliminary report. It records findings on some of the major items only. In order to keep the report simple and understandable, data have been presented in a condensed form. Only the total figures for the whole of India have been analyzed. The responses of the leaders, and randomly chosen males and females have been put together to present a general picture. Only in Chapter VI, has the classification by leadership and sex been maintained in order to separate the leaders' responses from the rest. As will be seen in Chapter VI, the leaders are higher on almost all positive responses than the rest. This high loading is, however, balanced somewhat by the females who are high on negative responses and low on positive responses. The males are in the middle and the totals of leader, male and female responses provide an average that comes very close to the responses of randomly chosen males.

III

AWARENESS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

In order to assess the level of *awareness* of the community development programme among the villagers, a few simple questions were asked. After 15 years of operation, it would be interesting to know how many people have actually heard about the community development programme. Among those who responded positively to this question, a majority knew about this programme by different names. Their mental image of the programme was associated with specific tasks undertaken by the community development administration in different parts of the country. Table 1 contains information thus ascertained.

TABLE 1

HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME ?
(All-India distribution)

	No. of respondents	Percentage
Heard about CD programme, block development programme and panchayati raj	1,517	21.0
Heard about CD programme and block development programme only	129	1.8
Heard about CD programme and panchayati raj only	51	0.7
Heard about block development programme and panchayati raj only	3,105	43.0
Heard about CD programme only	37	0.5
Heard about block development programme only	639	8.8
Heard about panchayati raj only	707	9.8
Never heard	972	13.5
Don't know/No answer	67	0.9
TOTAL	7,224	100.0

Out of a total 7,224 respondents, 86.6 per cent knew about the community development programme by some name or the other. About half (43 per cent), the single largest group of respondents, knew about the programme as block development programme and panchayati raj. This is understandable as the community development programme operates through the blocks and panchayati samitis and the mental horizon of the villagers is limited to a large extent to its block level developmental effort. The percentage of people who identified the programme, as community development programme and block development programme, or as community development programme and panchayati raj is very low (1.8 per cent and 0.7 per cent, respectively). The reason for this is that people who knew about the block, also knew about panchayats and vice versa, and have already been accounted for (43 per cent as mentioned above). The same reason could be stated for the relatively low percentage of people who mentioned that they heard about the blocks or the panchayats only.

It can be seen from Table 1 (after summing up relevant responses) that 24.1 per cent of the respondents have heard about the community development programme by that name, 74.7 per cent have heard about the programme as block development programme and 74.6 per cent have heard about panchayati raj. A meagre 0.5 per cent of the respondents knew of the programme only by the name "community development", 8.8 per cent heard only about the block development programme and 9.8 per cent of the respondents said that they had heard about panchayati raj and nothing else. The community development programme is known by that name to only one-fourth of the respondents. As will be indicated in Chapter VI, a very large proportion of the people who knew about this name are the leaders who constitute one-fifth of the sample. The remaining non-leaders associate the programme with either the block or the panchayat.

As far as *awareness* goes, the CD programme has obviously made its impact on the villagers. The level of *awareness*, however, is not uniformly distributed all over the country. To what extent is this *awareness* related to the contact of the village people with the various block level and village level functionaries? Table 2 provides data on the villagers' contact with the village level worker who is

constantly on the scene and who is the spearhead of the community development administration in the village.

TABLE 2

DO YOU KNOW THE VILLAGE LEVEL WORKER?
(All-India distribution)

	Frequency of response	Percentage
Know by name	2,466	34.3
Know, but not by name	1,905	26.4
Don't know him	2,689	37.2
No answer	164	2.1
TOTAL	7,224	100.0

About 61 per cent of the respondents knew the village level worker and about 34 per cent knew him more intimately than others. This shows a high level of *awareness* of the village people about this important functionary.

The frequency of contact of the village people with the various change agents can be seen in Table 3.

TABLE 3

DURING THE PAST YEAR HOW OFTEN HAVE YOU SPOKEN WITH THE:
(All-India distribution)

	Block Development Officer	Agricultural Extension Officer	Co-operative Officer	Doctor	Village Level Worker
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Never	57.6	62.4	63 3	52.4	41.1
1 - 10 times	21.0	11.9	10.2	21.1	22.4
More than 10 times	9.1	7.3	5.5	9.2	28.6
Don't know	7.3	12.7	14.1	8.7	4.6
No answer	5.0	5.7	6.9	8.6	3.3
TOTAL	100.0	100 0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Respondents	7,224	7,224	7,224	7,224	7,224

The contact of the villagers is most frequent with the village level worker. Of all respondents, 51 per cent reported that they have spoken with him. Twenty-eight per cent contacted him more frequently than others. A village level worker has, on an average, 10,000 people living in his area. His contact with the villagers as described in the Table should, therefore, be considered good.

The next most important functionaries, in terms of contact with the villagers, are the block doctor and the block development officer. About 30 per cent of the respondents reported that they have spoken with these functionaries. The block development officer co-ordinates, in addition to his routine administrative duties, the activities of the various block level specialists and is in charge of the implementation of the development programme in his area. Most of his time, therefore, is spent at the block headquarters. The fact that 30 per cent of the respondents have contacted him for various reasons, indicates a high level of *awareness* of the village people of the block level developmental activities.

The block doctor performs a specialized service. He is responsible in most States for public health measures as well as for curative treatment of diseases. Unlike the other specialists, his clientele come from all classes, occupations and age groups. His high contact rate with the villagers shows that he performs a valuable service in the rural areas.

About 19 per cent of the respondents reported that they have contacted the agricultural extension officer. This contact rate is quite low as compared with the rates for the village level worker, the block development officer and the block doctor. Like the block doctor, the agricultural extension officer is a specialist. He guides the village level worker in the implementation of agricultural programmes and as such, is more in contact with the village level worker than the villagers. The doctor's case is different as he has to come into contact with the villagers in case of illness. Although the low contact rate for the agricultural extension officer with the villagers is not surprising, a good extension worker should be in frequent contact with the people in order to evaluate the impact of the programme and assess for himself the reasons if the desired effect is not achieved. Since agriculture is the mainstay of our rural

economy, the agricultural extension officers should have a higher frequency of direct contact with the farmers.

The co-operative extension officer fares even worse. Only 16 per cent of the respondents mentioned that they had any contact with this official. Although the co-operative movement is considered to be a major vehicle for revitalizing the rural economy, it has not been very successful in India for various reasons. The bulk of the village population has been left'out of this movement because they were not eligible for using the co-operative societies inspite of the fact that these societies exist in two-thirds of the villages. In principle, it has been accepted that the co-operative movement should include as many people as possible; in reality, it is either limited to individuals with resources and with some power or exists only on paper. The low contact rate of the co-operative extension officer with the villagers reflects this condition.

This study does not probe into the motivation of the change agents in their respective roles. Neither does it analyze obstacles which are inherent in the system and which they may have to face in carrying out their assignments. The background, training and outlook of the change agents, in addition to the built-in inertia of the bureaucratic system in which they work, directly influence their effectiveness. It is possible that the personal values of the agricultural and co-operative extension officers are not welfare-oriented. Both are trained professionals and may be more interested in their professional career than rural development which presupposes such orientation. One may also prefer desk work to field work as the former adds to one's official status. It is also possible that these professionals may feel inhibited and consider their role too structured. This observation may, in many cases, apply to all levels of change agents starting from the village level worker to the block development officer. For a thorough understanding of the differential contact rates of the change agents with the villagers and the effectiveness of their contacts, a study in depth is necessary.

From the point of view of the villagers, the differential rates of contact with the change agents is a reflection of his *awareness* of the usefulness of these functionaries. The high frequency of contact with the village level worker is undoubtedly influenced by his

physical presence in the village. It is also highly probable that the villager finds him useful and easy to communicate with. The block development officer is also a generalist and has enough power to help the villager. Whatever is the reason, the villager finds him more useful than the block level specialists. The doctor is an exception and Table 3 indicates that his usefulness to the villager is as high as that of the block development officer. The villager either does not find the agricultural extension officer and the co-operative extension officer useful, or he does not find them accessible.

IV

AWARENESS AND ADOPTION OF IMPROVED PRACTICES IN AGRICULTURE AND HEALTH

Since the inception of the community development programme in India, several improved practices have been introduced into the villages. The extent of adoption of these practices would depend on various factors. The method of introduction, the demonstrable usefulness of the practices, the financial ability of the farmers to buy them and finally the willingness of the farmers to adopt them are some of the factors that have influenced their rates of adoption.

For this report, the adoption of improved agricultural and health practices has been studied. Specific innovations which were studied within these broad categories were: improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, improved implements, TABC injection, small-pox vaccination and family planning methods.

For analyzing the data, a conventional model of the adoption process has been used[12]. It is assumed that some awareness of the improved practices must precede other stages leading to adoption. The various stages of the adoption process in chronological order are : awareness, interest, trial and adoption. Tables 4 and 5 show the percentage of villagers who were at the various stages of the adoption process at the time of interviewing.

Improved Agricultural Practices

It will be seen from Table 4 that awareness of the fertilizer programme is the highest among the rural people. Only 17 per cent

12. Rogers, Everett M., *Diffusion of Innovations*, New York, Free Press, 1964, pp. 81-84.

of the respondents said that they had not heard about chemical fertilizers. Other agricultural innovations can be arranged, in terms of awareness, in the following order (from high to low) : use of improved seeds, insecticides and improved ploughs. The same order is observed in regard to adoption of these innovations. While 47.2 per cent of the respondents reported that they have adopted application of chemical fertilizers, 36.4 per cent reported use of improved seeds; 31.3 per cent reported adoption of insecticides, and only 18.9 per cent have said that they adopted improved ploughs.

TABLE 4

ADOPTION OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES
(All-India distribution)

Adoption stages	Chemical fertilizers Per cent	Improved seeds Per cent	Insecticides Per cent	Improved implements Per cent
Not heard	17.2	28.4	34.5	41.0
Heard	18.0	15.3	15.3	19.7
Heard, interested	15.8	17.9	16.2	18.4
Heard, interested and tried	1.4	1.3	1.7	1.0
Heard, interested, tried and adopted	47.2	36.4	31.3	18.9
No answer	0.4	0.7	1.0	1.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of respondents	7,224	7,224	7,224	7,224

The differential awareness and adoption of various agricultural innovations in a definite order may be a function of the differences in the effectiveness of extension methods, applicability to local conditions, etc. It comes out clearly from the data that the farmers in India have a definite order of preference for different agricultural innovations.

A large number of farmers mentioned that they have heard about these innovations and are interested in them, though for

various reasons they have not tried them yet. The order of interest shown (without trial) in different innovations is as follows: 18.4 per cent of the respondents expressed interest in using improved ploughs; 17.9 per cent showed interest in improved seeds; 16.2 per cent were interested in the application of insecticides and 15.8 per cent said they were interested in the use of chemical fertilizers. It can be seen from Table 4 that many farmers who were aware of the chemical fertilizers have gone on through the trial stage to adopt them. Very few, therefore, have remained in the interest stage only. In the case of improved ploughs, fewer farmers have adopted them and a larger number have remained in the interest stage.

The percentage of farmers who have tried the innovations but have not adopted them is very small. This suggests that the innovations are in most cases workable. An overwhelming majority of the farmers who have had the opportunity and were willing to try the innovations, have adopted them.

Improved Health Practices

It can be seen from Table 5 that vaccination against small-pox is widely accepted in our villages. This is partly the function of concerted drives for vaccinating people which are sponsored by the official health agencies including the block medical officer. It is interesting to note that most of the respondents indicated that they were aware of the small-pox vaccination programme and were at the various stages of adoption. The percentage of people who have not heard of vaccination against small-pox is not high and people who have heard about it but have no interest, is quite low.

TABC is an injection for preventing typhoid and cholera. Table 5 indicates that the village people have been extensively using this injection. Although considerably less than the proportion of the people who are accepting small-pox vaccination, 51.8 per cent of the respondents reported using TABC.

The high adoption of small-pox vaccination and TABC does not necessarily mean that our villagers have accepted the germ theory of disease. It only shows that adoption in some cases may be directly related to the intensive nature of the extension work. In a follow-up question, it was asked what the respondent

would do in case there was a case of small-pox in the family. Over 50 per cent of the respondents said that they would use traditional methods (going to a temple, calling a traditional healer, etc.) to treat the disease. The high adoption of small-pox vaccination and TABC must, therefore, be explained in terms of effective extension methods. In many other aspects of health, the village people have adopted modern methods without changing their traditional beliefs.

TABLE 5

AWARENESS AND ADOPTION OF IMPROVED PRACTICES IN HEALTH
(All-India distribution)

Stage of adoption	TABC	Small-pox vaccination	Family planning methods
	per cent	per cent	per cent
Not heard	30.7	11.6	38.9
Heard	4.9	3.1	24.7
Heard, interested	8.3	2.8	28.0
Heard, interested, tried	3.2	4.1	1.1
Heard, interested, tried and adopted	51.8	78.2	5.2
No answer	1.1	0.2	2.1
TOTAL	10).0	100.0	100.0
Number of respondents	7,224	7,224	7,224

Such adoption need not be considered paradoxical. There are the extreme cases, as in spraying D.D.T. or providing good drainage where the villager is not a part of the decision making process. Yet these measures influence his health conditions enormously. The adoption of an improved practice, therefore, may not necessarily mean a change in the value-orientation of the people.

Family Planning

Where a change in the value-orientation is a necessary pre-condition for adoption of an improved practice, we find a different picture. Adoption of family planning methods is not dependent on the demonstrable success of the various contraceptive devices. One may accept the merits of the use of a contraceptive but may not adopt it. Respondents were asked whether or not they approved

family planning as a principle. Table 6 gives the distribution of answers.

TABLE 6

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF FAMILY PLANNING ?
(All-India distribution)

	Frequency	Per cent
Approve	3,729	51.6
Disapprove	1,712	23.7
Don't know	999	13.8
No answer	784	10.9
TOTAL	7,224	100.0

About 52 per cent of the respondents said that they approved of family planning as a principle and only 23.7 per cent of them clearly said that they disapproved of it. Yet, when it came to the actual adoption of the measure, as data in Table 5 reveal, only 5.2 per cent of the respondents had tried and adopted the family planning methods. About 39 per cent have heard about them but did not show any interest and 28 per cent of the respondents showed some interest in the methods. The percentage of respondents who tried but did not adopt the devices is negligible showing thereby that a high proportion of people who tried the devices, continued to use them.

V

COMMUNICATIONS

One of the important factors of modernization is physical communication with the outside world. A new road or transport facility might change the character of a tradition-bound village by facilitating the mobility of the people in terms of the number of trips they make and the types of places they visit. With better physical communication, it is also easier for outside agencies to penetrate into hitherto inaccessible areas. The extent to which community development programme has contributed to the development of physical communications in the rural areas is difficult to measure. Several governmental agencies have been working on improving communications in the rural areas. The community development programme is associated with only a few. Providing better communications may also be a function of active and imaginative leadership in a village.

Communications are a part of the total process of modernization and to isolate the effects of community development programmes on the growth of communications from possible effects of several other direct and indirect agents of change, needs more intensive analysis than has been attempted in this report. A general picture of the physical proximity of the villages to the various means of communication is presented here. The assumption is that the distance of a village from the means of communication will be directly related to its level of modernization.

Out of 365 villages, 46 per cent are either on *pucca* all-weather roads or very close to them. About 33 per cent are within one to five miles of such roads. The percentage of villages which are between five and ten miles from these roads is 10.4. About 11 per cent of these villages are quite far from *pucca* roads. There is a bus stand in about every third village (31.2 per cent) and 40.8 per cent of the villages are

located one to five miles from the nearest bus stand. Twenty-eight per cent of the villages are beyond five miles from the nearest bus stand. More than half of our villages (55.3 per cent) have post offices and more than a third (35.1 per cent) have post offices within five miles The railway stations are still far away from most of the villages. In our sample, 55.6 per cent of the villages were ten miles or more away from the nearest railway station. Only 6.3 per cent had stations located in the village.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGES LOCATED AT VARIOUS DISTANCES FROM THE NEAREST

(All-India distribution)

	Pucca all-weather road	Bus stand	Railway station	Post office	City or town
	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent	per cent
Located in the village or less than one mile	45.0	31.2	6.3	55.3	1.1
1 to 4.9 miles	32.9	40.8	18.4	35.1	7.4
5 to 9.9 miles	10.4	17.0	19.7	6.0	22.5
10 miles and over	10.7	11.0	55.6	3.6	69.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of villages	365	365	365	365	365

Compared with other advanced countries, the communication facilities available in our villages are still poor. Yet the information presented above is encouraging. Almost half of our villages are directly connected with the outside areas by all-weather roads; about a third by direct bus service, and more than half have postal links. It is not possible to say from the data available, how frequently the buses and trains run and how frequently the facilities are used.

About 70 per cent of the villages are still outside of the immediate influence of urban centres (10 miles and beyond). Seven per cent are within five miles and 22.5 per cent are within ten miles of these centres. Cities in general, and especially in India, play an important role in modernizing rural communities. Their effect on the villagers may not necessarily increase their interest in agriculture and may

even uproot them physically or intellectually from their traditional moorings. But urban centres almost invariably set new forces in motion in the surrounding rural areas. The pattern of location of the villages in relation to the urban centres at the present time precludes any drastic urban pull. This pull depends, of course, not merely on the distance but also on the usability of the means and channels of communication connecting the villages with these centres.

Data are available on the frequency and duration of visits of the villagers to cities and also on their sentiments about living in a city. Table 8 shows the percentages of villages falling along an urban influence continuum for 7,224 respondents (leaders, males and females) in 365 villages in 1965. The eight-point scale is based on scores given to responses made to the following questions: (1) How many times in the past year have you been to a city (with a population of at least 10,000)? (2) Have you ever lived in a city for more than six months? (3) Did you ever wish that you could leave this village and stay elsewhere? If "yes", why? If "yes", how far is this place from your village? How big is the place you wish to go?

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGERS AT VARIOUS POINTS OF THE URBAN INFLUENCE SCALE

(All-India distribution)

Urban influence score (from least to most)	Frequency	Percentage
0	2,145	29.7
1	4,120	57.0
2	490	6.8
3	79	1.1
4	53	0.7
5	101	1.4
6	124	1.7
7	108	1.5
8	4	0.1
TOTAL	7,224	100.0

About 30 per cent of our villagers did not visit a city during 1965 and 57 per cent of them had some contact with cities but were very low on the urban influence score showing that they were negative about living in a city. This more or less sums up the urban exposure of our villagers. With the expansion of industries and the opening up of new areas for urban settlement, it is expected that urban exposure will increase in the future. The effect of urbanization on the community consciousness for community action to solve community problems is difficult to predict. The only conclusion that can be drawn from Table 8 is that the general absence of this consciousness in our villages cannot be attributed to the psychic pull of the cities on the villagers because the extent of urban influence is very small. To study the effect of urban exposure on the individual, one needs to probe more deeply with the help of appropriate statistical tools. This report has not made this probe.

To study the non-physical means of communication, respondents were asked whether they read newspapers, listened to radios and saw movies. Table 9 gives the distribution of responses given to these questions.

TABLE 9

NEWSPAPER READING, RADIO LISTENING AND MOVIE GOING
(All-India distribution)

Answers	Newspaper Per cent	Radio Per cent	Movie Per cent
No	78.1	41.7	47.2
Yes	21.8	58.2	52.7
No answer	0.1	0.1	0.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of respondents	7,224	7,224	7,224

About 78 per cent of our villagers do not read newspapers. This tallies with the national proportion of illiterates, which is very high. About 58 per cent said that they listen to the radio. These figures show that the villagers are more in contact with the outside world through radios than through newspapers. Data are not available yet about the type of radio programmes most frequently listened to. The frequency of radio listening can be seen from Table 10.

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY OF RADIO LISTENING
(All-India distribution)

	Frequency	Percentage
Never listen to radio	3,022	41.7
Less than once a week	1,664	23.0
Once a week	350	4.9
Two or three times a week	592	8.2
Every day	926	12.8
No answer	680	9.4
TOTAL	7,224	100.0

Twenty-three per cent of the respondents (about 60 per cent of all listeners) listen to radio very rarely, less than once a week. It is expected that the frequency of radio listening will be related somewhat to a listener's degree of interest in the outside world. The data presented in Table 10 show that the proportion of people who listen to the radio frequently and regularly is not high. This indicates that the intensity of radio exposure is still small.

The percentage of listeners who hear radio programmes every day is slightly higher than those who hear these programmes once a week, or two to three times a week. The explanation for this is that about 20 per cent of the respondents are leaders, many with radios at home. It will be pointed out in chapter VI that leaders in general have expressed more non-traditional attitudes than non-leaders. Their radio exposure index is also high. A similar relationship may be noticed in the distribution of the urban influence score where a slightly higher percentage has been registered in the highest score category as compared with the percentages in other high score categories.

Commercial movies have been introduced in the rural areas during the past two decades. The effect of movies on the attitudes of village men and women has rarely been studied. This report does not probe the motivational impact of the movies on the villager's mind. Some data are available showing the locational pattern of the movie-halls in relation to the villages. The nearest movie-hall is

beyond ten miles for 59.4 per cent of the villages. About 24.4 per cent are between five and ten miles, 13.2 per cent are between one and five miles and three per cent are within one mile of a movie-hall. Considering the distance that one has to travel to get to a movie-hall, the number of people who see movies is remarkable. Since data are not available for this report on the frequency of visits and the type of movies seen most frequently, it is not possible to indicate the intensity of movie exposure for the villagers.

Ex. 101.

VI

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Development of secular institutions is a part of the democratic process. This is a goal in itself as the institutions reflect and formalize the growth of various interests in the community. In a particularistic society, behaviour is determined by selective norms and the distribution of rewards and punishments are unequal. The transition from this type to a universalistic type of social pattern where norms are universally applicable with equal distribution of justice, is usually characterized by the growth of secular institutions. In a rigidly stratified society such as ours, the growth of secular institutions that cut across these ascriptive rigidities and which are based on interests that are different from traditional interests is a step toward modernization.

Secular institutions grow because traditional institutions fail to solve problems which are part of modern life. The caste system and its economic counterpart, the *jajmani* [13] system, worked well in the past when a rigidly defined social order was of paramount importance in the midst of a perpetual political chaos and the economic transactions were mainly limited to the village. With the introduction of political stability, commercialization of our economy and the growth of a new socio-political ethos, these and other traditional institutions have become obsolete. For the individual who looks for a norm to follow in crises or in everyday life, these and other traditional institutions create more problems than they solve. In the present-day context, the new institutions are natural replacements of the old ones as the normative and operational framework for community action and individual behaviour.

---

[13] Under this system, caste groups within a village are expected to give certain standardised hereditary services to the families of other castes, the nature of service being determined by caste.

The presence or absence of institutions also determines the functional boundaries of a community. Our villages were, in the past, more or less self-sufficient as all the basic needs of the individual and the community could be satisfied by the traditional institutions. The temple, the caste, the *jajmans*, the traditional panchayat, the *tol* (traditional schools conducted by charismatic teachers called *gurus*) and the joint family were enough to provide guidelines for individual and community behaviour. With time, some of these institutions have disappeared or have been permanently weakened. New institutions to replace these have not grown rapidly enough to maintain village self-sufficiency. With the improvement in communications, it is uneconomical to revive the same type of self-sufficiency. The present day *jajmans* are the wholesalers who serve a whole region that covers a number of villages. For higher education, it is more economical to build a high school at a central place to serve a larger area than a single village. The functional boundaries of our rural communities have, therefore, widened. To what extent have the secular institutions grown in our villages? How many of these villages are served by institutions which are located outside? The following discussion will examine the presence or absence in the villages of institutions representing the major needs in our everyday life and their distances from the villages. Data are available on educational, economic, political and recreational institutions. Table 11 indicates the spatial development of institutions in our villages.

About 91 per cent of our villages have primary schools (classes I–V). Regardless of the quality of teaching, the availability of teaching equipment, the student–teacher and student-class room ratios, the very fact that educational opportunities are available in almost all the villages is remarkable.

Thirty-three per cent of the villages have middle schools (classes VI–VIII). About 84 per cent (32.6+51.2) have middle schools within five miles of the village and about 16 per cent are beyond that range.

About 61 per cent of the villages have high schools within a radius of five miles and about 23 per cent are located between five and ten miles of a high school. In 16 per cent of the villages, the high school is located in the village.

The figures in Table 11 show that our villages are more or less self-sufficient in the lower level educational facilities. The opportunity for all children of school-going age to attend school is available. Even the high school facilities are not too far away. The middle schools and the high schools cater to the educational needs of a region which is geographically and demographically larger than a village.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGES OF VILLAGES LOCATED AT VARIOUS DISTANCES FROM THE NEAREST:
(All-India distribution)

	Located in the village or less than one mile	1—4.9 miles	5—9.9 miles	10 miles and over	Total	
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	No
Primary School I-V	90.9	8.8	0.3	—	100	365
Middle School VI-VIII	32.6	51.2	11.0	5.2	100	365
High School IX-XI	15.9	44.7	22.7	16.7	100	365
Primary Health Centre	8.8	25.4	24.7	41.1	100	365
Veterinary Stock-men Centre	16.2	37.7	31.0	15.1	100	365
Co-operative Society	68.5	23.6	5.2	2.7	100	365
Community Centre	37.8	15.9	14.2	32.1	100	365
Godown	21.1	36.4	22.8	19.7	100	365
VLW Headquarters	42.2	44.6	11.0	2.2	100	365
Panchayati Office	69.3	25.2	3.3	2.2	100	365
Block Headquarters	7.7	22.7	32.2	37.4	100	365
Library	45.4	23.6	12.6	18.4	100	365

Sixty-nine per cent of the villages have co-operative societies of different types and an additional 24 per cent have these societies within five miles of the village. A frequency count of the various types of co-operative societies was not made due to shortage of time, but some type of co-operative assistance was available in buying, marketing and distribution of farm requirements and products and

also in obtaining credit. It can be said that in co-operative economic activities, our villages are more or less self-sufficient. It is important to know how extensively and effectively these societies are operated but the potential is there. It may be recalled from chapter II, that the frequency of contact of the villagers with the co-operative extension officer was extremely low. In the light of these figures one needs to know why the contact rate is so low.

Commercialized agriculture presupposes certain basic facilities. Good roads, easy and inexpensive transportation and storage space for agricultural products are some of these facilities. The availability of roads and transportation has been discussed in the previous chapter. The proximity of our villages to godowns where one can rent space can be seen in Table 11. About 21 per cent of the villages either had a godown in the village or within one mile of the village. An additional 36 per cent had godown facilities within five miles. For 23 per cent, these facilities were available between five and ten miles of the village. About 20 per cent were located beyond ten miles from the nearest godown. These data do not indicate how many of these godowns had cold-storage facilities. Although the availability of storage space could be better, a large number of our villagers could still use them if they travel a little.

The village panchayat is the major political institution within the reach of the villages. The present panchayats have replaced the traditional ones, which were composed of hereditary chiefs of various clans, castes, and local units. The present panchayats are elected bodies and, generally speaking, represent the interests of the villagers. The national political parties have attempted to reach down to this level to develop their grass-roots organization. This and the conflicting interests between the various groups in the village have injected a new dimension of political consciousness into the village scene. The traditional panchayats worked on the principle of unanimity and consensus rather than on a rule of majority and dissent. It will be interesting to know if this transition has really been made.

Of our villages, about 69 per cent had panchayati offices located in the village or within one mile of the village. About 25 per cent were between one and five miles of the panchayati office. Thus, for a very large number of villages the panchayati office was physically present in

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL, RURAL EXTENSION TRG. CENTRE
KRISHNAGIRI RESERVOIR PROJECT

the village. About a fourth of our villages were connected through political ties with other villages. It is the tradition in many States for the panchayati president to have the office in his home village. According to this principle (there are exceptions) about a fourth of our villages had presidents who belonged to another village.

The voting record of the villagers in panchayati elections is shown in Table 12. It will be interesting in this connection to compare this with the voting record in the national elections.

TABLE 12

DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST PANCHAYATI AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS?
(All-India distribution)

	Panchayati elections		National elections	
	Freq.	Per cent	Freq.	Per cent
Yes	3,582	79	5,155	71.3
No	682	15	1,928	26.6
Don't know/ No answer	271	6	141	2.1
TOTAL	4,535	100.0	7,224	100.0

In the national elections, 71.3 per cent of the respondents voted. This is a high record even in countries where democracy has been practised for a much longer period. For the panchayati elections, the record is still higher, 79 per cent having voted. It can be seen from Table 12 that the question on voting in panchayati elections could be put to only 4,535 persons out of 7,224 respondents, the reason being that in the States of Bihar, Nagaland and Jammu & Kashmir, panchayati raj had not yet been introduced in 1965. Also in many other areas, the local candidates and the people decided to have uncontested elections. This in itself is an important fact which indicates that there has been a continuity from the past practice of selecting leaders. Under the traditional panchayati system, the leadership was hereditary and most of the decisions made were unanimous. Under the new system, the hereditary leadership has been replaced by democratic leadership but the principle of unanimity has

been maintained to some extent. Among people who decided to have contested elections, however, the percentage of actual voters was very high (about 80 per cent).

To measure the extent to which the idea of the rule of majority and dissent has been absorbed by our rural voters, all respondents were asked to indicate their preference for unanimous or contested elections. Table 13 shows the distribution of the answers.

TABLE 13

DO YOU PREFER UNANIMOUS OR CONTESTED ELECTIONS ?
(All-India distribution)

	Frequency	Percentage
Contested election	1,554	21.5
Unanimous election	4,039	55.9
Other preference	19	0.3
Don't know/No answer	1,612	22.3
TOTAL	7,224	100.0

The majority of our rural voters still prefers unanimous elections. About 22 per cent are undecided and 21.5 per cent unambiguously stated that they prefer contested elections. It is significant that a fifth of our respondents prefer contested elections inspite of the long tradition of ascriptive leadership and unanimity in decision-making which our villages had.

Turning back again to data in Table 11, a community centre is descriptively named as a place where various types of community activities take place. It could be a general meeting place for all local activities and various types of recreation. The development of a community centre in the village has been one of the specific projects of the community development programme. The general idea is to provide a place where community integration can take place through recreational and leisure-time activities. Table 11 shows that 38 per cent of our villages have community centres. People living in villages which do not have these facilities can use the facilities in other villages. About 54 per cent of the villages have community centres within five miles of their boundaries. About 14 per cent of the villages are bet-

ween five and ten miles from the nearest community centre. About a third of our villages (32 per cent) do not have any community centre within ten miles.

Forty-five per cent of the villages have a library. Another 23 per cent are located within five miles, about 13 per cent are between five and ten miles and 18 per cent beyond ten miles of the library.

Since the inception of the community development programme, several official extension and service centres have been established in the rural areas. The block headquarters is the main source of all extension activities. About 37 per cent of the villages are beyond ten miles of a block headquarters. Only 7.7 per cent of the villages have a block headquarters within one mile. The village level worker's office is much closer to the village as he has a smaller area to work in. About 42 per cent of the villages have a village level worker's office. Most of the remaining villages (44.6 per cent of the total) are within five miles of the village level worker's office.

The veterinary stockmen centre provides important services to the farmers who raise cattle and other domestic animals. Our figures show that 54 per cent of the villages are within five miles of a veterinary stockmen centre and another 31 per cent within ten miles. Only 16 per cent of the villages have this centre located in the village itself.

To summarize the above findings, one can say that our villages are almost completely self-sufficient in primary schools. For educational facilities at the middle school level and other services such as co-operative societies, panchayati office, etc., the villages are more or less self-sufficient. For higher level educational facilities, community centres, village level worker's headquarters and libraries, the average villager has to travel a little. For the block headquarters, primary health centres, godowns, and veterinary stockmen centres, the villagers will have to travel quite far. For various services, the villages are connected with outside centres located at various distances from the village. When data on the frequency of the villagers' visit to these places and the purpose of these visits are available, one will have a better insight into the functional relationship of the villages with outside service centres.

VII

THE EMERGING LEADERSHIP

The community development administration in India has from the very beginning emphasized the role of leaders in our village communities as the fulcrum of the whole programme. This choice is not based on a scientific assessment of the role the leaders actually play. It is mainly based on the experience of our administrators who have carefully observed the group dynamics in our village societies.

Regardless of the degree of progressiveness the leaders may have, the fact remains that they have power over others and can effectively block or facilitate a programme. It is a good policy to be introduced in a village by the accepted leaders regardless of their popular appeal. An extension agent or a social worker may want to reach the underprivileged but a direct approach to these groups very seldom helps rapport-building as the authenticity of his credentials would be suspect. Since a leader in a village is the source of legitimacy, an introduction from him legitimizes the credentials of a stranger. It is not an unusual experience for a social worker to approach poor farmers and day-labourers directly, hoping that his avoidance of the unpopular leader may increase his acceptability, and to discover later that his intended clients have checked his credentials with the hated zamindar of the village. A village leader is a product and a part of the traditional system and is the legitimate authority to interpret and implement the traditional code of behaviour.

About one-fifth of the sample of 7,224 villagers are leaders. From every village one formal leader and three sociometrically determined leaders were selected as has been described in a previous chapter. An analysis of the background of the leaders thus mentioned reveals that 55.4 per cent of them were either Brahmins or high-caste

non-Brahmins; 33.6 per cent finished middle school or more; 63.5 per cent (33.6+28.9) finished primary school; 23.7 per cent were illiterates; 87.2 per cent were cultivators and only 0.9 per cent were agricultural labourers. The corresponding figures for the randomly chosen samples of 3,375 males and 2,435 females can be seen in Table 14.

TABLE 14

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS, MALES AND FEMALES
(All-India distribution)

	Leaders Per cent	Males Per cent	Females Per cent
Brahmins or high-caste non-Brahmins	55.4	34.2	35.6
Finished middle school or more	33.6	10.5	3.3
Finished primary school	28.9	18.0	8.1
Illiterates	23.7	60.5	84.5
Cultivators	87.2	74.3	57.2
Agricultural labourers	0.9	10.0	15.1
Number of respondents	1,414	3,375	2,435

It is obvious that the leaders of the 365 villages in 1965 predominantly belonged to the upper castes, had higher education than non-leaders, and were mostly cultivators. Data on the income levels could not be used for various reasons. There is, however, a strong case based on interviewer ratings for believing that the leaders in general were also more prosperous than non-leaders.

These data show that a very large proportion of leaders still come from the upper strata and are also agriculturally oriented. In response to the question "Some people say that on account of the panchayati raj and community development programmes, a new leadership is emerging; is this so?", people said "yes" more frequently (36.3 per cent) than "no" (7.9 per cent). An appreciable number was undecided or did not answer the question. It is possible that in spite of having the same social background as the past leaders had, the new leaders are different in outlook. It is also possible that the monopoly of a few families over village leadership has been broken and the new leaders come close to the people's choice. In response to another question "Are these new village leaders better, same or worse than the old leaders?", more people said "better"

(21.1 per cent) than "worse" (4.2 per cent). This question could not be put to a large number of respondents who said "no" to the previous question, did not answer it, or were undecided. The villagers also expressed their preference for elected leaders over traditional leaders. Table 15 shows the distribution of their choice.

TABLE 15

WHICH KIND OF LEADER DO YOU PREFER MOST ?
(All-India distribution)

Leaders mentioned	Frequency	Percentage
None	29	2.3
Government officer	1,078	14.9
Political leader	372	5.1
Landlord	256	3.5
Traditional leader	637	8.6
Elected leader	3,402	45.7
Other	204	2.8
Don't know/no answer	1,246	17.1
TOTAL	7,224	100.0

With the introduction of panchayati raj, the leadership has been opened to all who aspire for such positions. People have elected leaders whom they preferred and they happen to come from the upper strata. It should also be pointed out that some of these elections were uncontested. This shows, perhaps, that traditional leadership still has a voice in making people choose their leaders. This may be so but, on the whole, our data point towards a new leadership which is replacing the traditional.

What are these new leaders like? Their knowledge of the community development programme is much higher than that of the non-leaders. Almost 100 per cent of the leaders knew about the programme by one name or the other. The corresponding percentages for the randomly chosen males and females are 88.7 and 73.9. The percentage of leaders who identified the community development programme with the largest number of functions (C.D. programmes, block development programmes and panchayati raj) was 45.5, whereas the corresponding percentages for males and females are 18.7 and 9.9.

The frequency of contact of the leaders with the agencies of change is also higher. Table 16 presents percentages of leaders, males, and females who have spoken to these agencies quite often (more than ten times).

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS WHO SPOKE QUITE OFTEN (MORE THAN 10 TIMES) WITH:
(All-India distribution)

	Leaders	Males	Females
Block development officer	30.0	5.6	2.0
Agricultural extension officer	25.7	4.3	0.7
Co-operative extension officer	20.1	2.9	0.6
Block doctor	20.2	6.5	6.5
Village level worker	61.2	25.7	10.9
Number of respondents	1,414	3,375	2,435

The leaders are thus much more in contact with the change agents and through them with systems outside the village. On the urban influence scale, the leaders also score more points than non-leaders as shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AT VARIOUS SCORE POINTS ON THE URBAN INFLUENCE SCALE
(All-India distribution)

Score points	Leaders	Males	Females
0	7.3	24.8	49.6
1	74.2	61.9	40.1
2	11.4	6.2	4.9
3	0.5	1.4	1.0
4	0.2	0.9	0.8
5	1.3	1.1	2.0
6	2.4	2.0	0.9
7	2.6	1.6	0.7
8	0.1	0.1	—
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of respondents	1,414	3,375	2,435

The urban linkage of the leaders is higher than that of both randomly chosen males and females. The percentage of leaders is higher at about every positive score point than the non-leaders. About 54 per cent of the leaders read newspapers. Only 20 per cent of the males and 5.7 per cent of the females do that. Three fourths of the leaders mentioned that they had seen a movie. Fifty-four per cent of the males and 38 per cent of the females made this claim.

The proportion of leaders who have adopted improved agricultural and health practices is also higher than that of non-leaders, as can be seen from Table 18.

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO ADOPTED IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL AND HEALTH PRACTICES
(All-India distribution)

Improved Practices	Leaders	Males	Females
Chemical fertilizer	76.4	43.2	36.0
Improved seed	67.5	31.5	25.4
Insecticides	58.2	25.4	23.8
Improved plough	41.1	15.2	11.3
Small-pox vaccination	85.5	78.7	73.6
TABC	66.3	51.1	44.4
Family planning	10.1	4.5	3.2
Number of respondents	1,414	3,375	2,435

On the agricultural items listed in Table 18, the proportion of leaders who have adopted them is much higher than that of non-leaders. On health items, the leaders are still ahead but the difference is not so marked as on agricultural items. In this case, the percentages of non-leaders adopting small-pox vaccination and TABC inoculation are remarkably high and not in keeping with the proportional difference between leaders and non-leaders on agricultural adoption. On the adoption of family planning, the percentage of all three groups is very low but a higher percentage of leaders have adopted contraceptive devices than non-leaders.

To measure the general attitude of the leaders, males, and females toward change, a sacred-secular (traditional—non-traditional)

scale was developed. Questions on which the scale is based and the scoring method were: (1) Can evil spirits cause disease? A "yes" answer contributed 1 to the sacred (traditional) score. (2) Have you ever made a sacrifice to prevent sickness? A "yes" answer contributed 1 to the sacred (traditional) score. (3) What do you do when someone gets small-pox? An answer, "Go to a traditional doctor", or "Go to a temple or religious leader" contributed 1 to the sacred score. (4) Should Harijans be allowed to draw water from any well in the village? A "no" answer to the question contributed 1 to the sacred score. (5) Should Harijans and other children take meals together in schools? A "no" answer contributed 1 to the sacred score. (6) Who do you think is superior, a village Brahmin who is illiterate or a Harijan who had a college degree? The answer "a village Brahmin who is illiterate" contributed 1 to the sacred score.

On this sacred-secular (traditional—non-traditional) scale, the scores of leaders consistently fell toward the secular end of the continuum showing that the leaders were less tradition-oriented than non-leaders. Table 19 shows the percentages of respondents at various score points on the sacred-secular scale.

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AT VARIOUS SCORING POINTS ON THE SACRED-SECULAR CONTINUUM
(All-India distribution)

	Leaders	Males	Females
Secular end of continuum			
0	31.9	16.5	5.5
1	20.7	15.6	9.2
2	17.5	17 8	13.2
3	14.5	22.5	20.3
4	9.1	15.2	21.1
5	3.7	7.3	18.5
6	2.6	5.1	12.2
Sacred end of continuum			
TOTAL	1C0.0	100.0	100.0
Number of respondents	1,414	3,375	2,435

It is interesting to note that the leaders who are the source of power in the village are less tradition-oriented than non-leaders. The new type of leadership that has emerged since the introduction of panchayati raj and the community development programme—the type that most respondents said is different from traditional leaders—are no longer the custodians of traditional norms and code of behaviour. In respect of social background they are not different from the past leaders; yet in attitudes they are not only less tradition-oriented than the past leaders, but are well ahead of the general mass of people. They were there in the villages but they did not have any access to power. The panchayati elections have brought them out as the people's choice

VIII

MODERNIZATION IN VILLAGE INDIA

Community development is a fraction of the total process of modernization that is taking place in rural India today. This process is a cumulative result of both evolutionary and directed forces. The spread of money economy, migration to cities, new job opportunities, land reform, irrigation, flood control, electricity, paved roads, political movements, voting rights, radios, movies, education, health, population pressure, disappearance of malaria, State-sponsored multipronged programmes of development—all of these and many other forces of change, have touched the villager and exposed him to the outside world with all its complexities and allurements. His old perspective, which seldom went beyond the caste world of his little village, is increasingly broadening. He is in communication with other systems and is aware of values of life which do not coincide with the traditional ones.

Community development has dramatized and intensified some of the forces which were already operative in Indian villages. It has also added a new dimension to the slow process of change, the sponsored attempt to generate community consciousness to solve community problems through community participation. Through three major fields of activity, regeneration of the rural economy, development of secular institutions and the introduction of panchayati raj, it has been trying to modernize the whole range of our rural life. Any evaluation of the impact of the community development programme should, therefore, take note of the very extensive implications of the total modernization process.

Social scientists who are interested in the process of social change in developing countries, use the term modernization as an all-purpose lable to indicate change in a certain desired direction.

For some, the term is synonymous with "westernization". It is true that in India, as in many other non-industrial societies, the initial stage of modernization has been marked by the introduction of western technology. However, the use of this term presupposes that all changes that are taking place in the non-western world are following the historical sequence of modernization that took place in the western countries 150 years ago. This assumption is questionable since the circumstances are different and it is possible that in the case of non-western countries a different type of social organization, different in each specific case, will be evolved[14].

Modernization has sometimes been identified with "urbanization". The assumption here is that of a rural-urban continuum where the rural areas physically shade into urban areas and the direction of change is always toward an urban way of life. It is true that the rationalization of the economy, the development of secular institutions and the civic role of the individual under the panchayati raj are all characteristics of an urban society. Urbanization, however, means more. The strong psychic pull which a city exerts over an individual eventually results in physical or psychic migration to the city. In this case, the reference group of the individual is never the village but the city. Urbanization is a natural process and there is no doubt that it is operative in our villages.

There are, however, a large number of people who absorb the secular and rational elements of urbanization and maintain strong links with the village system. In their case, it is more a synthesis of the traditional and the secular than a progressive psychic movement toward the urban. This synthesis is not just a point somewhere along the psychic dimension of the rural-urban continuum. It has its own growth and its own direction. On a national level this phenomenon has been variously described as the *renaissance* and the *synthesis*. According to Hegelian dialectics, this synthesis evolves its own antithesis (stimulated by new forces of change) and follows its own direction toward another synthesis. Individuals who embody this *renaissance* are traditional in their everyday behaviour, dress and speech, yet intellectually they are modern. With their ability to

[14]Singer, Milton, "Changing Craft Traditions in India", in Wilbert Moore, Arnold Feldman, Eds., *Labour Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas*, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960, p. 275.

empathize with new roles and values, they are in communication with other systems. When it comes to adopting new ideas, they will screen the idea or select items out of many possible alternatives so that the adoption trait is not contradictory to the existing value system and does not start a chain reaction that will destroy the functional integration of the village system. In short, these people would accept change and at the same time maintain a continuity with the past.

Modernization within the village system is not always linear. Various levels of the village society go through this process of renaissance at different rates and in different directions. The lower strata of the caste hierarchy in the village react uniquely to the exposure of modern forces such as education, voting rights, etc. For these people the initial effect of this exposure has been toward more traditionalization on the ritualistic plane. The term "sanskritization" has been widely used to describe this process[15]. In several case studies on the *Chamars* in Uttar Pradesh and the *Muchis* and *Namashudras* in West Bengal, the same symptoms have been observed[16].

Modernization, thus, is not a unidimensional process by any means. This is the reason why a precise definition of the term is so rare. For the purpose of this report, the four concepts discussed above will be kept separate although in reality they are interrelated. The term *westernization* is a process in which an individual or a group internalizes the values and the behaviour patterns of the western industrial societies[17]. *Urbanization* will refer to the process in

---

[15]Srinivas, M. N., *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of India*, London, Oxford University Press, 1952; also his *Caste in Modern India and other Essays*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962.

[16]Cohn, Bernard S., "Changing Traditions of a Low-caste," in Milton Singer ed., *Traditional India, Structure and Change*, Philadelphia, American Folk, lore Society, 1959; Sen, Lalit K., *Social Dimensions of Modernization in Four Indian Villages*, (Unpublished Ph. D dissertation), University of Wisconsin, 1962. While Cohn describes "sanskritization" on the behavioural plane, Sen illustrates it on the attitudinal level.

[17]Although the concept of *westernization* has been discussed above, it will not be used here for obvious reasons. Our villages have not been exposed to the western cultures to the extent that a large number of people will get an opportunity to internalize values of these cultures. This aspect of modernization can be more easily observed and studied in large cities in India.

which an individual or a group increasingly looks to the urban industrial society as its reference group. *Renaissance* will indicate a process of synthesis in which an individual or a group is highly aware of other systems, selects new ideas and practices emanating from these systems, internalizes and adopts them but at the same time maintain strong links with tradition. The most compelling reference group in this case is the village. *Sanskritization* is a sub-process of *renaissance* in which individuals or groups go through an initial stage of traditionalization to obtain status.

Our sample of 365 villages and 7,224 respondents will provide a broad canvas for studying the process of modernization in rural India. The data which are available for this report clearly indicate the potential for linkages with outside systems; physical communication facilities are available for anyone to use. Almost half of the villages are directly connected with the outside by all-weather paved roads, about a third by direct bus service, and more than half by postal links. It is doubtful, however, that these facilities have produced high linkages both in terms of visits and reference groups. The distribution of scores on the Urban Influence Scale shows that very few have visited cities of at least 10,000 people and would like to live in a city. The exposure to the outside world through newspapers, radios and movies is also meagre. One may conclude, therefore, that in spite of the opportunities available to the villagers, *urbanization* in Indian villages is still not a real force and the awareness of external systems (with exceptions) is at a low level.

Where there is scope for voluntary choice, our villagers take their own time to take advantage of available facilities. The community development programme is a different matter. The block level specialists and the village level worker are physically on the scene and they are under pressure to produce tangible results. Extension workers in general are committed to spread new ideas. Thus, through the implementation of the community development programme, new external systems have crossed the boundaries of the village. The very high awareness of the community development programme among the villagers (86.6 per cent identified the programme by various names) will be considered a success for the extension workers in bringing home the idea to the villagers, but what proportion of the villagers consider the programme as their own

is not known. The frequency of contact with the various extension workers also shows that there is a direct relationship between physical proximity of the extension worker and the frequency of contact. Our data clearly show that community development is perhaps the most important source of social change in our villages because the villages have more linkages with it than any other external system.

As a consequence of the extension efforts, villagers are aware of the various specific projects and have adopted improved practices in various degrees. Our data show that the villagers have a definite order of preference in adopting improved practices. Whatever the reason, they select some at a higher rate than others. This hesitancy to adopt all improved practices at the same rate does not necessarily show lack of modernity. On the contrarv, this preference may reflect real difficulties in the adoption of these items. One study has shown that high adoption among our farmers is not related to their efficiency[18]. A modern farmer has his own logic and adopts items which suit him best. This is how a new idea on a traditional soil is best germinated. Our data show that most of our farmers were selective in their rate of adoption of improved practices.

The villages are more or less well provided with institutional services. The average number of secular institutions that have come into existence since the inception of the community development programme is high. Almost all the villages have primary schools and a third have middle schools. About a sixth of the villages have high schools. More than half of the villages have co-operative societies which offer services in buying, marketing and joint farming. They also extend credit facilities. Data on the quality and efficiency of these societies are not available for this report. When available these data will indicate the degree to which hese institutions have been integrated into the village social structure. This will reflect the type and level of modernization so far as institutional development is concerned.

The political awareness of the people at the village level is high. Seventy per cent of the villagers voted in the national elections. For the panchayat, the election in many areas was

[18]Bose, S. P., "Socio-cultural Factors in Farm Efficiency", *Indian Journal of Extension Education*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1965.

unanimous. This is a tradition that has continued from the past and although the opportunity for contested election was there, these people decided to maintain the tradition. The proportion of people who did vote was very high.

The process of modernization that is taking place in Indian villages today is of the *renaissance* type. It is a slow process in which tradition plays an important part. The new ideas and practices are being gradually synthesized with the traditional value system. Sometimes they are screened for avoiding a direct clash; sometimes they exist side by side. Villagers are selective about adopting improved agricultural practices but they adopt health practices without really believing in them. Practices that are contingent upon a change in the values are resisted, as in the case of family planning. This synthesis of the new with the old is best illustrated by the process of change in political behaviour. Panchayati leadership can be contested under the new system by anyone. Yet many elections were unanimous and more often than not respondents indicated that they preferred unanimous elections to contested ones. At the same time, the voting record of elections that were contested was very high. There is no doubt that eventually all elections will be contested but during the transition, possibilities for a disruption of normal political life are avoided.

The data on the new leadership which is replacing the traditional one further confirm this notion. An overwhelming majority of the sample of 1,414 leaders belonged to the upper strata of the village society. Without doubt they had internalized the traditional values and norms and are a part of the traditional system. Yet, on all items, they have consistently shown that they were less tradition-bound than the rest. As leaders, they enjoyed power and commanded respect from the ordinary villagers. If the leaders are receptive to new ideas, so will be the rest of the population. There is hardly any scope for a violent upheaval such as has come in the wake of modernization in many societies. In Indian villages the lower strata have always emulated the higher strata. This has been the tradition of the caste system and the process of *sanskritization* among the lower castes is in the same tradition.

[19]Lerner, Daniel, *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1958, Ch. II.

In this respect, rural India presents a completely different picture from what Lerner found in the Middle East[19]. The main feature of social change in the Middle East as reported in his study, has been the sudden exposure of the lower strata to the western way of life through mass media. The various social strata are becoming westernized at an uneven rate giving rise to social and political instability. In rural India, the funnelling of new ideas has been coming from the top and then gradually reaching down to the lower strata.

Forces of modernization have reached all strata and are going to do so at a faster pace in the future, but this has not resulted in any violent reaction on the part of the lower classes. The result, on the contrary, has been an increased pace of social mobility. The channel of modernization in rural India has been established through social mobility rather than through social conflicts.

This sums up the major observation one can make on the data available for this report. Modernization in India is an extension of the past into the future, and in the process, the traditional norms gradually change. The spearhead of this *renaissance* is the village leadership which is the most important factor in modernizing rural India.

APPENDIX I

PARTICIPANTS IN THIS STUDY

INTERVIEWERS

Andhra Pradesh

UDAYACHALA RAO
Orientation and Study Centre
Bhavani Sagar

P.A. RAGHAVAIAH
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

G. SUBHARATNAM
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Assam

G.C. DEY
Orientation and Study Centre
Kalyani

N.K. BHATTACHARJEE
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Bhubaneswar

ANITA L SANGMA
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Bihar

RAM RATAN
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Ranchi

D. P. SETHI
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Ranchi

R. BHATIA
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Allahabad

Gujarat

I. B. RAWAL
Orientation and Study Centre, Junagadh

SHIRIN B. CHINOY
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Jammu & Kashmir

VIJAY VERMA
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

PRITHVI RAJ VERMA
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

GHULAM RASOUL BAQAL
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

SHASHI PRABHA JAIN
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Kerala

PADMAVATIAMMA
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Gandhigram

PAUL KARIPURATH
Orientation and Study Centre, Bhavani Sagar

Madhya Pradesh

GOVINDER SINGH
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Jabalpur

H. P. TANDON
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Jabalpur

A. P. SINHA
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Jabalpur

SUDARSHAN KUMARI
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Indore

Madras

G. RAJA RAM
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Coimbatore

MEENAKSHI SUNDARAM
Orientation and Study Centre Hyderabad-30

SAVITRI
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

THAKKAMALAI
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Maharashtra

N. R. BARWAT
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Gargoti

S. L. SOMAN
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Gargoti

V. D. JOSHI
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Jabalpur

Mysore

T. G. RAJASHEKARIAH
Orientation and Study Centre Mysore

PADMA
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Nagaland

VILAZIC SEKHOSE
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

M. ALEMCHIBA AO
Research Officer, Naga Institute of Culture, Nagaland

Orissa

S. C. KANUNGO
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Bhubaneswar

ANJALI RAY
Mukhya Sevika Talim Kendra Laxmi Sagar, Bhubaneswar

Punjab

R. S. PENTAL
Orientation and Study Centre, Nilokheri (Punjab)

ASHA PENTAL
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Rajasthan

MUSAFIR SINGH
Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Udaipur

G. L. VERMA
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

G. SAKLANI
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Udaipur

Uttar Pradesh

C. D. DOBRIYAL
Orientation and Study Centr Bakshi ka talab, Lucknow

R. B. SINGH
Orientation and Study Centre Bakshi ka talab, Lucknow

P. N. NIGAM
Orientation and Study Centre Nilokheri (Punjab)

B. G. Pawar
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Allahabad

Meera Srivastava
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

Veena Sharma
National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad

West Bengal

N. Bondopadhyaya
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Sriniketan

S. K. Gupta
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Belurmath

R. Mukherjee
Social Education Organizers' Training Centre, Baroda

CODERS

G. L. Verma
Senior Investigator

G. Subharatnam
Senior Investigator

P. A. Raghavaiah
Junior Investigator

Vilazic Sekhose
Junior Investigator

Anita L. Sangma
Junior Investigator

Padma
Junior Investigator

Veena Sharma
Junior Investigator

Meera Srivastava
Junior Investigator

Shirin B. Chinoy
Junior Investigator

Vijay Verma
Junior Investigator

TABULATORS

G. L. Verma
Senior Investigator

G. Subharatnam
Senior Investigator

P. A. Raghavaiah
Junior Investigator

Anita L. Sangma
Junior Investigator

Vijay Verma
Junior Investigator

Radhakrishna Murthy
Junior Investigator

R. Shiv Prasad
Junior Investigator

M. V. Narayana Murthy
Junior Investigator

Radha B. Iyer
Junior Investigator

K. Neeladri Raju
Junior Investigator

APPENDIX II

DISTRICTS, BLOCKS AND VILLAGES SELECTED FOR STUDY

State	District@	Block	Stage	Communicating code*	Village	Population
Andhra Pradesh	1. West Godavari (P)	1. Penumantra	I	1	Muppatripadu	1,369
				2	Kanchumarru	1,900
				3	Manchli	3,545
		2. Nidadavole	II	1	Nelatur	1,740
				2	Pasivedula	3,687
				3	Purushothapalli	3,000
		3. Koyyalagudem	III	1	Mysanagudem	1,883
				2	Sreenivasapuram	1,928
				3	Pochavaram	963
	2. Anantapur	1. Tadipatri	I	1	Tirumalapuram	395
				2	Sajjaladinna	1,919
				3	Rayalacheruvu	2,321
		2. Kudair	II	1	Jangalapalli	320
				2	Gondireddipalli	1,681
				3	Rachanapalli	917
		3. Madakasira	III	1	Thammadepalli	3,369
				2	Rallahali	3,434
				3	Gudibanda	4,408

State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
	3. Mahboobnagar	1. Mahboobnagar	I	1	Ramachandrapuram	973
				2	Vepur	1,928
				3	Koil Konda	2,521
		2. Kondurg	II	1	Takalpalli	423
				2	Mutpur	808
				3	Mogiligidda	4,092
		3. Shadnagar	III	1	Chintaguntapalli	343
				2	Santhapur	881
				3	Nidedavalli	1,142
Assam	I. Garo Hills	1. Dadenggiri	I	1	Pathorkata	258
				2	Matramchigiri	254
				3	Bholarvita	877
		2. Rongramder	II	1	Watrigiri	284
				2	Warmasimgiri	323
				3	Selbalgiri	286
		3. Resubelpara	III	1	Gokulgiri	233
				2	Harinkata	259
				3	Resubakrapara	234
	2. Nowgong	1. Rupali Dev	I	1	Garematikhowa	1,469
				2	Rupali Town	3,286
				3	Samaguri	637

		2. Kaliafor Dev	II	1	Haluagaon	688
				2	Hatibandha	1,111
				3	Dulal Madhab	631
		3. Kathia Toli Dev	III	1	Barkondali	602
				2	Number Lalung Gaon	1,278
				3	Patiapam	490
Bihar	1. Santhal Paraganas	1. Deoghar	I	1	Gangti	427
				2	Basmatta	557
				3	Satar Khorpos	523
		2. Poraiyahat	II	1	Tam-Bajore	275
				2	Gunghasa	385
				3	Shyampur	2 26
		3. Raneshwar	III	1	Murgabani	310
				2	Banwari	335
				3	Bakartari	441
	2. Champaran	1. Bettiah	I	1	Ahwar Mazaria	1,883
				2	Barwatpasrain	3,678
				3	Banuchapra	2,086
		2. Madhuban	II	1	Madhuahamal	1,238
				2	Kothia	1,660
				3	Tetaria	2,375
		3. Gauhana	III	1	Mandiha	176
				2	Sithi	921
				3	Gaunaha	906
	3. Shahabad (P)	1. Sahaya	I	1	Dhouri	550

State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
				2	Peur	965
				3	Sahar	2,214
		2. Chanati	II	1	Malhar	357
				2	Malhipur	1,405
				3	Chanari	2,213
		3. Sheosogan	III	1	Kurtha	298
				2	Kirhandy	1,327
				3	Bamhour	806
Gujarat	1. Surat (P)	1. Mandvi	I	1	Khodamba	782
				2	Sadadi	322
				3	Ratania	1,169
		2. Mangrol	II	1	Limodara	819
				2	Hathuran	2,036
				3	Pipidra	1,132
		3. Songadh	III	1	Bedvan-Bhesroth	255
				2	Kuiljwell	343
				3	Panchpipala	648
	2. Junagadh	1. Ranavav	I	1	Mokal	2,019
				2	Bordi	1,199
				3	Amiari	935
		2. Porbandar	II	1	Beran	459

				2	Baradia	200
				3	Majivana	921
		3. Manavadar	III	1	Vekri	1,467
				2	Thaniana	1,513
				3	Sherdi	945
Jammu & Kashmir	1. Jammu	1. Vijaypur	I	1	Karlian	613
				2	Rari	476
				3	Gudwal	2,196
		2. Purmandal	II	1	Ismailpur	215
				2	Tarore	860
				3	Smailpur	1,398
		3. Akhnoor	III	1	Muthi	300
				2	Kotgarhi	445
				3	Gondarwan	935
	2. Srinagar	1. Ganderbal	III	1	Beehama	706
				2	Nunar	1,285
				3	Darind	217
Kerala	1. Cannanore	1. Manhanthody	I	1	Pallickal	3,391
				2	Porur	1,497
				3	Vell-Amunda	5,371
		2. Edakkad	II	1	Muringari	1,848
				2	Macherry	1,593
				3	Markery	1,051
		3. Payyannur	III	1	Peralam	3,985
				2	Kangole	5,500
				3	Kunhimangalam	8,771

State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
	2. Trivandrum	1. Valand	I	1	Konniyur	2,747
				2	Puthukulangara	2,604
				3	Pazhayatheruvu	3,088
		2. Varkala	II	1	Panavara	5,089
				2	Kappil	3,159
				3	Mullaramcode	2,649
		3. Parasala	III	1	Pullurkonam	2,613
				2	Udayankulangara	2,406
				3	Puthussery	2,272
Madhya Pradesh	1. Raipur (P)	1. Simga	I	1	Pausri	320
				2	Macha Bhat	438
				3	Bhat Bhera	952
		2. Sihawa	II	1	Bokrabeda	270
				2	Parsapani	218
				3	Sankra	3,448
		3. Kaudia	III	1	Rajpalpur	581
				2	Kherjadi	333
				3	Barekel Khurd	823
	2. Shivpuri	1. Khaniadhana	I	1	Bamor	454
				2	Chamrawa	2,350
				3	Harinagar	1,285

		2. Kolaras	II	1	Amarpur Taparia	352
				2	Mohra	722
				3	Rijoda	616
		3. Shivpuri	III	1	Banskhedi	201
				2	Raishree	757
				3	Satarwada	1,419
	3. Chhindwara	1. Bichhua	I	1	Pathri	353
				2	Samarboh	310
				3	Gumtara	438
		2. Tamya	II	1	Rajihari	369
				2	Bijori	338
				3	Lahgadua	700
		3. Pandhurna	III	1	Dodimeta	274
				2	Ajangaon	652
				3	Chichkhera	595
Madras	1. Coimbatore	1. Annur	I	1	Kuppanur	3,591
				2	Ambodhi	3,010
				3	Kunnathur	2,474
		2. Avanashi	II	1	Uppilipalayam	2,313
				2	Kanur	3,188
				3	Mangarasaralayapalayam	1,915
		3. Tiruppur	III	1	Eettiveerampalayam	2,756
				2	Mudalipalayam	2,901
				3	Uaingalam	4,616

State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
	2. Tanjore (P)	1. Valangiman	I	1	Inamkiliym	1,587
				2	Alangudi	1,391
				3	Mathur	806
		2. Ammapet	II	1	Utharamangalam	517
				2	Kumizhakudi	802
				3	Saliamangalam	2,124
		3. Tiruthurai-poondi	III	1	Thiruthangur	960
				2	Panaiyur	1,935
				3	Kachanam	1,067
	3. N. Arcot	1. Ghengam	I	1	Maniekal	362
				2	Vinnaoranur	872
				3	Melpallipattu	2,638
		2. Tirupathur	II	1	Kudapattu	2,027
				2	Palanan Kuppam	1,948
				3	Thiriyalam	2,641
		3. Turinjapuram	III	1	Koothalanadi	631
				2	Maruthanambadi	1,314
				3	Mallaoraoy	1,301
Maharashtra	1. Satara	1. Phaltan	I	1	Kapashi	941
				2	Tadwaye	1,256
				3	Salpe	867

	2. Khandala	II	1	Zagalewadi	525
			2	Ahire	1,765
			3	Bhade	4,534
	3. Satara	III	1	Bhoposhi	598
			2	Arphal	1,625
			3	Songaon	1,192
2. Aurangabad	1. Gangapur	I	1	Kolghar	520
			2	Puri	673
			3	Manjari	1,745
	2. Vijaypur	II	1	Ballisagaj	550
			2	Virgaon	603
			3	Mahalgaon	1,463
	3. Kannad	III	1	Munbwadi	800
			2	Tad-Pimpalgaon	1,868
			3	Bahirgaon	945
3. Wardha	1. Deoli	I	1	Amboda	550
			2	Agargaon	1,259
			3	Bhidi	2,018
	2. Arvi	II	1	Gourkheda	306
			2	Kinhola	339
			3	Rohana	2,474
	3. Seloo	III	1	Garamsur	28[illegible]
			2	Sukhali	8[illegible]5
			3	Kelzar	1,544

State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
Mysore	1. Mandya (P)	1. Maddur	I	1	Hebbaralu	914
				2	Bidra Kote	2,053
				3	Avverahalli	290
		2. Krishnarajpet	II	1	Hiralahalli	362
				2	Hirakalale	1,108
				3	Hariharapura	1,117
		3. Malavalli	III	1	Dhanagur	1,948
				2	Devipura	1,013
				3	Nadakalapura	1,084
	2. Gulbarga	1. Chittapur	I	1	Ramtirth	634
				2	Kamarwadi	693
				3	Satnoor	1,100
		2. Shahapur	II	1	Ganganala	488
				2	Rasthapur	1,853
				3	Chamnala	900
		3. Gulbarga	III	1	Algud	900
				2	Bhopal Tegnur	875
				3	Tajsulta ıpur	1,495
Nagaland	1. Kohima Angami area	1. Kohima		1	Pfuchama	284
				2	Kigwema	1,850
				3	Chedema	550

				4**	Jakhama	2,281
				5**	Tuophuma	931
	2. Ao area	2. Mangkolemba		1	Lakhni	445
				2	Changdang	335
	3. Manyak area	3. Mon		1	Oting	540
				2	Long Pong Singha	277
				3	Tuimei	172
Orissa	1. Sambalpur (P)	1. Sambalpur-II	I	1	Badmol	447
				2	Gambarikata	655
				3	Sahaspur	1,099
		2. Laikera	II	1	Sudung	722
				2	Majurdima	615
				3	Rengalbeda	647
		3. Bheden	III	1	Mehena	695
				2	Chhalkulunda	720
				3	Chichinda	680
	2. Ganjam	1. Kukudakhandi	I	1	Bagholati	412
				2	Narayanpur	1,037
				3	Ankushpur	1,717
		2. Rangeilluda	II	1	Badapur	873
				2	Manikpur	481
				3	Sasanpadar	1,800
		3. Buguda	III	1	Dengabadi	443
				2	B. Karadabadi	1,599
				3	Karchhuli	1,190

State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
Punjab	1. Hoshiarpur	1. Hoshiarpur	I	1	Deowal	250
				3	Allowal	661
				2	Baghpur	690
		2. Balachaur	II	1	Nawanpind tappian	610
				2	Chankoa	432
				3	Mehandhipur	789
		3. Una	III	1	Dangoli	856
				2	Kotlakalan	1,202
				3	Kalsera	833
	2. Karnal	1. Madlanda	I	1	Khuuhrana	649
				2	Loohari	1,907
				3	Bhalsi	600
		2. Ladwa (Radaur)	II	1	Barhshami	250
				2	Saunti	506
				3	Radhuri	380
		3. Thanesar	III	1	Masana	516
				2	Devidaspura	481
				3	Bahri	577
Rajasthan	1. Udaipur	1. Salumbur	I	1	Jaitpura	534
				2	Toda	973
				3	Kherad	874

	2. Khammore	II	1	Sirohi-ki-Bhagal	439
			2	Sematpla	1,523
			3	Kotharia	2,011
	3. Amet	III	1	Manakda	223
			2	Gugli	494
			3	Selaguda	976
2. Savai Madhopur	1. Khandar	I	1	Kudhana	308
			2	Talawara	600
			3	Beharawanda Khurd	2,170
	2. Nadoti	II	1	Bhondwada	246
			2	Naroli	913
			3	Zahara	1,081
	3. Nahuwa	III	1	Nunophodi	323
			2	Haldena	553
			3	Paota	3,215
3. Bikaner	1. Bikaner	I	1	Dandusar	483
			2	Chhattargarh	1,255
			3	Barsingsar	1,988
	2. Nokha	II	1	Dhupalia	475
			2	Charkara	1,457
			3	Sarunda	1,810
	3. Sri Kolayat Ji (Kolayat)	III	1	Mitharia	705
			2	Surajra	304
			3	Akkhabar	1,255

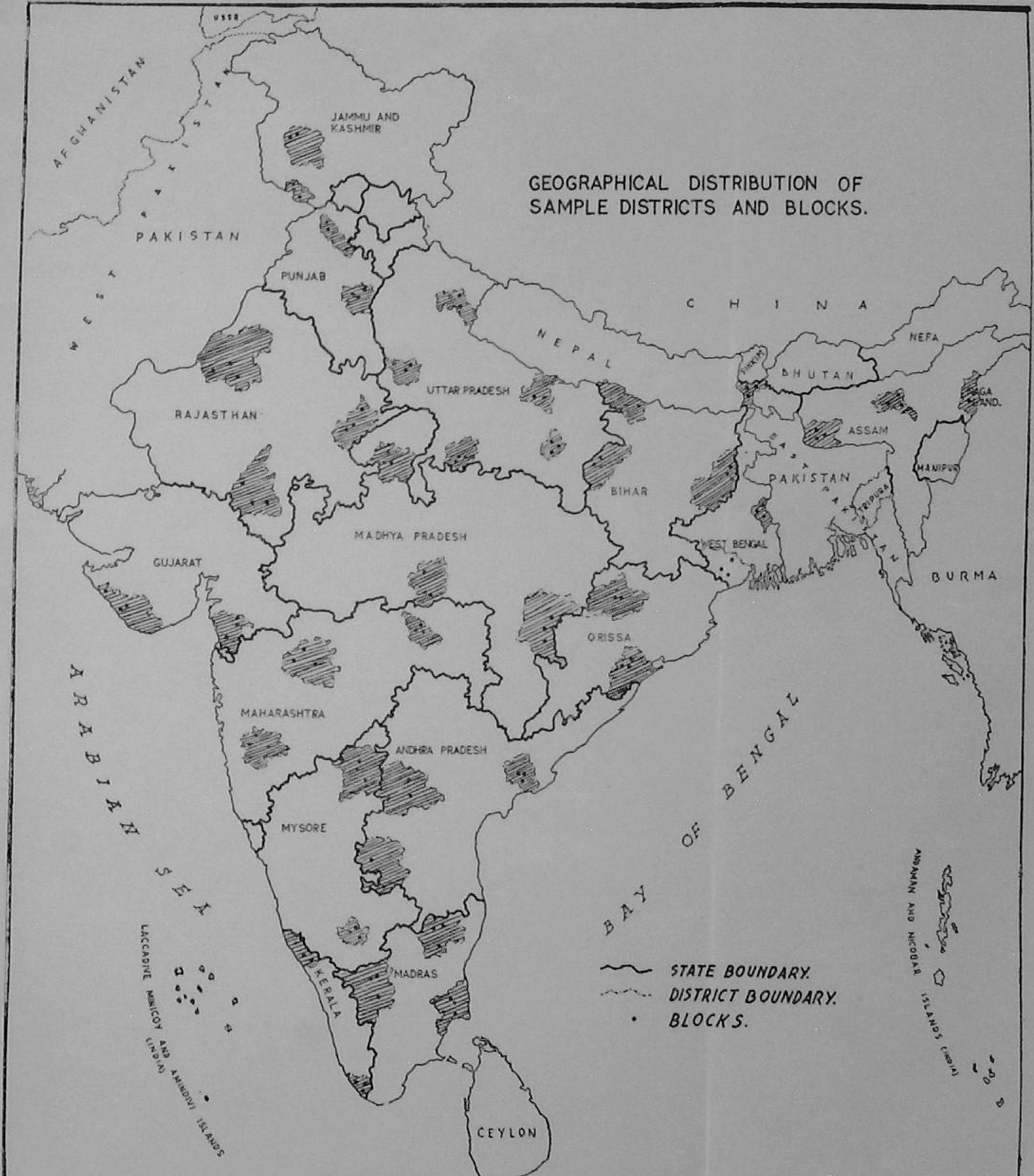
State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
Uttar Pradesh	1. Aligarh (P)	1. Akrabad	I	1	Goberdhanpur	404
				2	Raipur Manipur	948
				3	Gopi	3,099
		2. Gonda	II	1	Rampur	370
				2	Bucha-ki-Garhi	447
				3	Talsera	1,658
		3. Tappal	III	1	Ghanghuli	1,611
				2	Vaina	2,941
				3	Tappal	5,121
	2. Almora	1. Dhauladevi	I	1	Sela	230
				2	Khola	704
				3	Maniagar	394
		2. Dwarahat	II	1	Kumalt	399
				2	Jana	237
				3	Bamanpor	354
		3. Kapkote	III	1	Basuma	262
				2	Panker	217
				3	Kapkote	950
	3. Hamirpur	1. Rath	I	1	Bardha	513
				2	Kaitha	1,415
				3	Dhamna	1,909

	2. Jaitpur	II	1	Akoni	291
			2	Mandhari	3,295
			3	Pipra Maphi	1,884
	3. Maudaha	III	1	Tamaura	650
			2	Makraon	844
			3	Ragaul	476
4. Jaunpur	1. Seethakalan	I	1	Khanpur	431
			2	Pipraul	738
			3	Saraimohaiddipur	574
	2. Dharampur	II	1	Dhaneja	934
			2	Saraiya	922
			3	Surhurpur	875
	3. Mungrabad Shahpur	III	1	Godiya	372
			2	Hyderpur	599
			3	Kodahbin	423
5. Basti	1. Nathnagar	I	1	Daulatpur	376
			2	Bishanpur	264
			3	Nokta	378
	2. Barhni	II	1	Nibi	791
			2	Parsa (Dewan)	473
			3	Gharuar	834
	3. Bhanwapur	III	1	Rudrauliya	259
			2	Anduwa (Sanecharh)	460
			3	Bhanwapur	500

State	District	Block	Stage	Communicating Code	Village	Population
West Bengal	1. Darjeeling	1. Garubathan	I	1	Gorubatham	2,148
				2	Pankhasari	1,693
				3	Mal Basti	241
		2. Siliguri-Noxalbari	II	1	Panchkulgudi	145
				2	Mahishmari	553
				3	Lalmon	800
		3. Pulbazar	III	1	Naya Basti	165
				2	Relling	1,118
				3	Bijanbari	1,938
	2. Nadia	1. Chopra	I	1	Ellangi	1,404
				2	Pathuria	1,374
				3	Gokhru Pota	1,442
		2. Ranaghat	II	1	Gangsara	2,124
				2	Majdia	688
				3	Patuli	487
		3. Santipur	III	1	Charmalatipor	790
				2	Haripur	2,532
				3	Gobindapor	1,341
	3. Midnapur	1. Dantan	I	1	Alikosa	452
				2	Benapura	341
				3	Krishnamaityabar	340

2. Tamluk	II	1	Sonapettya	496
		2	Hogalberya	1,012
		3	Kaktya	736
3. Jhargram	III	1	Golbandhi	320
		2	Jamsola	173
		3	Ledalahra	444

@ "P" stands for "Package district"
* 1 Stands for "Poor communications" village
2 Stands for "Medium communications" village
3 Stands for "Good communications" village
** "Good" communications code for Nagaland goes up to 5.



EQBAL HUSSAN, ARTIST, O.S.C, HYD:-30

OUTLINES OF DISTRICTS, BLOCKS TAKEN FROM MAP OF INDIA SHOWING C.D. BLOCKS PRODUCED BY MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING, GOVT OF INDIA, SEPTEMBER, 1959.

Published by

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Hyderabad-30.